R2110-5(4)

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-1985 Edition

9

42421

9?97E

MEMBERS

?9086979?6086&0

ELECTIONS · CAMPAIGN

,6&0?9086979?6086&0?908

FINANCE·COMMITTEES·STAFF AND

0&6&0?9086979?6086&0?9086?

OPERATING EXPENSES· ELECTIONS

6086&0?9086979?6086&0?9086?6

ROLL CALL VOTING· CAMPAIGN FINANCE

6086&0?9086979?6086&0?9086?8

ELECTIONS · BUDGETING · MEMBERS

?6086&0?9086979?6086&0?9086?79

STAFF AND OPERATING EXPENSES · ACTIVITY

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-1985 Edition

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-1985 Edition

Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann,
Michael J. Malbin, Allen Schick,
John F. Bibby

Foreword by Richard F. Fenno, Jr.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
Washington and London

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Vital statistics on Congress.

(AEI studies ; 410)
Second updated ed. of: Vital statistics on Congress, 1980 / John F. Bibby, Thomas E. Mann, Norman J. Ornstein, c1980.
1. United States. Congress—Statistics. I. Ornstein, Norman J. II. Bibby, John F. Vital statistics on Congress, 1980. III. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. IV. Series.
JK1041.V58 1984 328.73'00212 84-20401
ISBN 0-8447-3560-4
ISBN 0-8447-3564-7 (pbk.)

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

AEI Studies 410

©1984 by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C., and London. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without permission in writing from the American Enterprise Institute except in the case of brief quotations embodied in news articles, critical articles, or reviews. The views expressed in the publications of the American Enterprise Institute are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the staff, advisory panels, officers, or trustees of AEI.

"American Enterprise Institute" and are registered service marks of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Printed in the United States of America

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, established in 1943, is a nonpartisan, nonprofit research and educational organization supported by foundations, corporations, and the public at large. Its purpose is to assist policy makers, scholars, businessmen, the press, and the public by providing objective analysis of national and international issues. Views expressed in the institute's publications are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the staff, advisory panels, officers, or trustees of AEI.

Council of Academic Advisers

Paul W. McCracken, *Chairman, Edmund Ezra Day University Professor of Business Administration, University of Michigan*

*Kenneth W. Dam, *Harold J. and Marion F. Green Professor of Law, University of Chicago*

Donald C. Hellmann, *Professor of Political Science and International Studies, University of Washington*

D. Gale Johnson, *Eliakim Hastings Moore Distinguished Service Professor of Economics and Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Chicago*

Robert A. Nisbet, *Adjunct Scholar, American Enterprise Institute*

Herbert Stein, *A. Willis Robertson Professor of Economics, University of Virginia*

Murray L. Weidenbaum, *Mallinckrodt Distinguished University Professor and Director, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University*

James Q. Wilson, *Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government, Harvard University*

*On leave for government service.

Executive Committee

Richard B. Madden, *Chairman of the Board*
William J. Baroody, Jr., *President*
James G. Affleck
Willard C. Butcher
Paul F. Oreffice
Richard D. Wood

Tait Trussell,
Vice President, Administration

Joseph J. Brady,
Vice President, Development

Edward Styles, *Director of Publications*

Program Directors

Russell Chapin, *Legislative Analyses*

Denis P. Doyle, *Education Policy Studies*

Marvin Esch, *Seminars and Programs*

Thomas F. Johnson, *Economic Policy Studies*

Marvin H. Kosters,
Government Regulation Studies

Jack A. Meyer, *Health Policy Studies*

Howard R. Penniman/Austin Ranney,
Political and Social Processes

Robert J. Pranger, *International Programs*

Periodicals

AEI Economist, Herbert Stein, *Editor*

AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Robert J. Pranger, and Harold H. Saunders, *Editors*

Public Opinion, Seymour Martin Lipset and Ben J. Wattenberg, *Co-Editors;* Everett Carll Ladd, *Senior Editor;* Karlyn H. Keene, *Managing Editor*

Regulation, Anne Brunsdale, *Managing Editor*

Contents

THE AUTHORS xv

PRESIDENT'S FOREWORD *William J. Baroody, Jr.* xvii

FOREWORD *Richard F. Fenno, Jr.* xix

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xxiii

1 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS 1

Table 1-1. Apportionment of Congressional Seats, by Region and State, 1910–1980 7
Figure 1-1. Apportionment of Congressional Seats, by Region, 1910 and 1980 9
Table 1-2. Democratic Party Strength in the House, by Region, 1924–1982 10
Table 1-3. Democratic and Republican Seats in the House, by Region, 1924–1982 12
Table 1-4. Democratic Party Strength in the Senate, by Region, 1924–1982 14
Figure 1-2. Democratic Party Strength in Congress, by Region, 1924–1982 15
Table 1-5. Democratic and Republican Seats in the Senate, by Region, 1924–1982 16
Table 1-6. Seniority of Representatives, 1953–1983 18
Table 1-7. Seniority of Senators, 1953–1983 20
Table 1-8. Prior Occupations of Representatives, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 21
Table 1-9. Prior Occupations of Democratic Representatives, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 22
Table 1-10. Prior Occupations of Republican

Representatives, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 23
Table 1–11. Prior Occupations of Senators, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 24
Table 1–12. Prior Occupations of Democratic Senators, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 25
Table 1–13. Prior Occupations of Republican Senators, 83d–98th Congresses, 1953–1983 26
Table 1–14. Religious Affiliations of Representatives, 88th–98th Congresses, 1963–1983 28
Table 1–15. Religious Affiliations of Senators, 88th–98th Congresses, 1963–1983 28
Table 1–16. Blacks in Congress, 41st–98th Congresses, 1869–1983 30
Table 1–17. Women in Congress, 65th–98th Congresses, 1917–1983 31
Table 1–18. Political Parties of Senators and Representatives, 34th–98th Congresses, 1855–1985 32

2 ELECTIONS 36

Table 2–1. Turnout in Presidential and House Elections, 1930–1982 40
Table 2–2. Popular Vote and House Seats Won, by Party, 1946–1982 41
Table 2–3. Net Party Gains in House and Senate Seats, General and Special Elections, 1946–1982 43
Table 2–4. Losses by President's Party in Midterm Elections, 1862–1982 44
Table 2–5. House Seats That Changed Party, 1954–1982 45
Figure 2–1. House Seats That Changed Party, 1954–1982 46
Table 2–6. Senate Seats That Changed Party, 1954–1982 47
Figure 2–2. Senate Seats That Changed Party, 1954–1982 48
Table 2–7. House Incumbents Reelected, Defeated, or Retired, 1946–1982 49
Table 2–8. Senate Incumbents Reelected, Defeated, or Retired, 1946–1982 51

Table 2-9. House and Senate Retirements by Party, 1930-1982 52
Table 2-10. House Elections Won by 60 Percent, 1956-1982 53
Table 2-11. Senate Elections Won by 60 Percent, 1944-1982 54
Table 2-12. Marginal Races among Members of the 98th Congress, 1982 54
Table 2-13. Means of Election to the 98th Congress, 1982 55
Table 2-14. Ticket Splitting between Presidential and House Candidates, 1900-1980 56
Table 2-15. District Voting for President and Representative, 1952-1980 57
Table 2-16. Shifts in Democratic Vote in Congressional Districts, 1956-1980 57
Table 2-17. Party-Line Voting in Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1956-1982 58

3 CAMPAIGN FINANCE 60

Table 3-1. House Campaign Expenditures, 1974-1982 65
Table 3-2. House Candidates Who Spent More Than $200,000, 1974-1982 67
Figure 3-1. House Candidates Who Spent More Than $200,000, 1974-1982 67
Table 3-3. House Candidates Who Spent More Than $500,000, 1974-1982 68
Figure 3-2. House Candidates Who Spent More Than $500,000, 1974-1982 68
Table 3-4. Senate Campaign Expenditures, 1974-1982 69
Table 3-5. Campaign Expenditures of House Incumbents and Challengers, by Election Outcome, 1974-1982 71
Figure 3-3. Expenditures of House Challengers Who Beat Incumbents, 1974-1982 74
Table 3-6. Campaign Expenditures of Senate Incumbents and Challengers, by Election Outcome, 1974-1982 75
Table 3-7. Funding Sources for Congressional Candidates in General Elections, by Party, 1974-1982 78
Table 3-8. Campaign Funding Sources for General Election

Candidates in House and Senate Elections, 1982 80
Table 3-9. Political Party Financial Activity, 1976–1982 82
Table 3-10. Party Contributions and Coordinated Expenditures, by Office and Party, 1976–1982 84
Figure 3-4. Political Party Receipts, 1975–1982 85
Table 3-11. Number of Registered Political Action Committees, 1974–1982 86
Figure 3-5. Growth of Nonparty Political Action Committees, 1974–1982 86
Table 3-12. Financial Activity of Political Action Committees, 1972–1982 87
Table 3-13. Adjusted Expenditures of Political Action Committees by Category, 1972–1982 88
Table 3-14. Types of PACs Contributing to Congressional Candidates, 1972–1982 90
Table 3-15. Types of PACs Contributing to Presidential, Senate, and House Campaigns, 1978–1982 91
Table 3-16. Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1977–1978 92
Table 3-17. Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1979–1980 93
Table 3-18. Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1981–1982 94
Table 3-19. Political Action Committee Contributions to Senate Candidates, 1977–1978 95
Table 3-20. Political Action Committee Contributions to Senate Candidates, 1979–1980 96
Table 3-21. Political Action Committee Contributions to Senate Candidates, 1981–1982 97
Table 3-22. PAC and Total Receipts of House Incumbents and Challengers, by Election Outcome, 1982 98
Table 3-23. PAC and Total Receipts of Senate Incumbents and Challengers, by Election Outcome, 1982 99
Table 3-24. Timing of PAC and Non-PAC Contributions to Congressional Election Campaigns, 1977–1978 100
Table 3-25. Timing of PAC and Non-PAC Contributions to Congressional Election Campaigns, 1979–1980 101
Table 3-26. Timing of PAC and Non-PAC Contributions to Congressional Election Campaigns, 1981–1982 102

Table 3–27. Independent Expenditures in House, Senate, and Presidential Election Campaigns, 1977–1982 103

4 COMMITTEES 105

Table 4–1. Number of Committees in the House and the Senate, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 108
Table 4–2. Number and Type of House Committees, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 109
Table 4–3. Number and Type of Senate Committees, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 110
Table 4–4. Committee Assignments for Representatives, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 111
Table 4–5. Committee Assignments for Senators, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 111
Table 4–6. Majority Party Chairmanships of House Committees and Subcommittees, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 112
Table 4–7. Majority Party Chairmanships of Senate Committees and Subcommittees, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984 113
Table 4–8. Southern Chairmanships of House and Senate Standing Committees, 1955–1983 114
Table 4–9. Closed Committee Meetings, 1953–1975 115

5 CONGRESSIONAL STAFF AND OPERATING EXPENSES 116

Table 5–1. Congressional Staff, 1979–1983 120
Table 5–2. Staffs of Members of the House and the Senate, 1891–1983 121
Figure 5–1. Staff of Members and of Committees in Congress, 1891–1983 122
Table 5–3. House Staff Based in District Offices, 1970–1983 123
Table 5–4. Senate Staff Based in State Offices, 1972–1983 123
Table 5–5. Staffs of House and Senate Standing Committees, 1891–1983 124

Table 5-6. Staffs of House Standing Committees, 1947-1983 125
Table 5-7. Staffs of Senate Standing Committees, 1947-1983 126
Table 5-8. Staffs of Congressional Support Agencies, 1946-1983 127
Table 5-9. Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946-1984 128
Table 5-10. Legislative Branch Appropriations by Category, 1980-1984 130
Table 5-11. Costs of Official Mail, 1971-1984 131
Table 5-12. Allowances for Representatives, 1970-1983 132
Table 5-13. Allowances for Senators, 1970-1983 135

6 WORKLOAD 138

Table 6-1. House Workload, 80th-98th Congresses, 1947-1983 143
Table 6-2. Senate Workload, 80th-98th Congresses, 1947-1983 145
Figure 6-1. Ratio of Bills Passed to Bills Introduced, 80th-97th Congresses, 1947-1982 147
Table 6-3. Recorded Votes in the House and the Senate, 1947-1983 148
Figure 6-2. Recorded Votes in the House and the Senate, 80th-97th Congresses, 1947-1982 149
Table 6-4. Congressional Workload, 80th-98th Congresses, 1947-1983 150
Figure 6-3. Public Bills in the Congressional Workload, 80th-97th Congresses, 1947-1982 151
Table 6-5. Pages in the Federal Register, 1936-1983 151
Table 6-6. Congressional Mailings, 1954-1983 152

7 BUDGETING 153

Table 7-1. House Votes on Adoption of Budget Resolutions, by Party, Fiscal Years 1976-1984 158
Table 7-2. Senate Votes on Adoption of Budget Resolutions, by Party, Fiscal Years 1976-1984 159

Table 7-3. Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, Fiscal Years 1976-1983 160
Table 7-4. Relatively Uncontrollable Federal Outlays under Present Law, Fiscal Years 1967-1984 162
Table 7-5. Presidents' Budget Requests and Congressional Appropriations, 1968-1982 164
Table 7-6. Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal Years 1964-1983 165
Table 7-7. House Amendments to Appropriation Bills, 1963-1982 166
Table 7-8. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal Years 1972-1984 167
Table 7-9. Budget-related Roll Call Votes in the House, Selected Years, 1955-1982 168
Table 7-10. Budget-related Roll Call Votes in the Senate, Selected Years, 1955-1982 168
Table 7-11. Rescissions and Deferrals, Fiscal Years 1975-1984 169

8 VOTING ALIGNMENTS 171

Table 8-1. Presidential Victories on Votes in Congress, 1953-1983 177
Figure 8-1. Presidential Victories on Votes in Congress, 1953-1983 179
Table 8-2. Congressional Voting in Support of the President's Position, 1954-1983 180
Table 8-3. Party Unity and Polarization in Congressional Voting, 1953-1983 182
Table 8-4. Party Support and Unity in Congressional Voting, 1954-1983 183
Table 8-5. Conservative Coalition Votes and Victories in Congress, 1957-1983 185
Table 8-6. Voting in Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959-1983 186
Table 8-7. House Committee Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959-1983 187
Figure 8-2. House Committee Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959, 1977, 1981, and 1983 191
Table 8-8. Senate Committee Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959-1983 193

Figure 8-3. Senate Committee Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959, 1977, 1981, and 1983 196

APPENDIX: DATA ON INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE NINETY-SEVENTH AND NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESSES 198

Table A-1. House of Representatives, 1982 199
Table A-2. House of Representatives, 1983 222
Table A-3. Senate, 1982 245
Table A-4. Senate, 1983 254

The Authors

NORMAN J. ORNSTEIN is a resident scholar at AEI. He is also professor of political science at the Catholic University of America and series editor of the television series, *Congress: We the People,* co-produced by WETA-TV and the American Political Science Association. His books include *The American Elections of 1982* and *Interest Groups, Lobbying and Policymaking.*

THOMAS E. MANN is executive director of the American Political Science Association and adjunct scholar at AEI. A member and technical adviser to numerous Democratic party reform commissions, Mann is also author of such books as *The New Congress* and *Unsafe at Any Margin: Interpreting Congressional Elections.*

MICHAEL J. MALBIN is resident fellow at AEI and contributing editor of the *National Journal.* Malbin's books include *Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government,* and *Money and Politics in the United States.*

ALLEN SCHICK is professor in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland and adjunct scholar at AEI. A major architect of the 1974 Budget and Impoundment Control Act, Schick is author of *Congress and Money: Budgeting, Spending and Taxing,* and *Making Economic Policy in Congress.*

JOHN F. BIBBY is professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and adjunct scholar at AEI. Bibby is completing a major study of state parties in American politics. His books include *On Capitol Hill* and *Congress Off the Record.*

President's Foreword

One of the first goals of AEI's Congress Project in 1978–1979 was to put together a single-source, easy-to-use handbook containing information on all aspects of Congress. The project's scholars had regularly searched for data for their own research and had frequently been called by journalists, librarians, other scholars, and politicians for information on Congress and the legislative process. They reasoned that a biennial volume pulling together the most significant facts, figures, and trends would be of use to the various communities that work in or follow Congress and would make their own lives easier.

They were wrong on the latter count—the amount of work necessary to create *Vital Statistics on Congress* is tremendous—but they were right on target about their first goal. As *Vital Statistics* goes into its third edition, much changed and expanded from the first, it has become a standard reference in newsrooms, libraries, and classrooms around the country. It is even used as a reference on Congress by Congress itself. *Vital Statistics on Congress* has become a vital part of the continuing mission of the AEI Congress Project. This third edition will be followed by others, tracking the politics, people, and policy process on Capitol Hill.

William J. Baroody, Jr.
President
American Enterprise Institute

Foreword

"Congress is the best known and the least understood of our national political institutions." That statement will probably win you a consensus. "Congress is the most fascinating of our national political institutions." That statement will probably get you an argument. But it will quickly flush out those legions of Congress watchers who derive much of their education or their enjoyment or their exasperation from following the activities of the legislative branch.

Congress watchers come in many varieties, from political science students who are required to pay attention to Congress to political junkies who cannot imagine life without it. In between are a host of people who do a lot of thinking about Congress, people whose professional lives are tied to the institution—teachers, journalists, staffers, politicians, consultants, lobbyists, and legislators themselves. It is for all such people that this book has been written.

Congress may never rival the weather or baseball as a staple of casual conversation in America. Maybe that is just as well. Those who like to talk about Congress certainly lack the statistical base provided by the Weather Bureau and the *Sporting News*. As one senator commented in a recent interview, "People have asked me how to make the Senate more interesting. I tell them that you need to keep the kinds of statistics that they keep about baseball, the ones I devoured as a boy."

No doubt widespread interest precedes the development of statistics in such matters. But the collection and presentation of statistics surely enlivens whatever interest already exists and probably expands it. Further, the existence of more and better statistics probably raises the level of conversation and improves the sense of perspective on the subject. Such, at least, is the hope of the authors of *Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984–1985 Edition*.

As every Congress watcher knows, our national legislature is a decentralized and fragmented institution. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to find that the development of statistics about Congress has been an equally decentralized and fragmented enterprise. What, we might ask, do Michael Barone, Charles Brownson, Joseph Cantor, Albert Cover, Louis Fisher, Harrison Fox, Benjamin Guthrie,

Susan Hammond, Robert Keith, Mildred Lehmann, Judy Schneider, and Daniel Strickland have in common? They are all collectors of congressional statistics; they have all contributed, indirectly, to this volume. So, too, have some anonymous researchers at the Congressional Research Service, *Congressional Quarterly*, the Congressional Budget Office, the Federal Election Commission, and Common Cause. And so have the authors of this book. The American Enterprise Institute does not have the data-gathering resources of the Weather Bureau or the *Sporting News*. But it does have a group of first-rate congressional scholars who have pieced together and created, from dozens of disparate sources, a stimulating compilation of statistics to help the rest of us talk and think about Congress.

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984–1985 Edition, is the second biennial update of the original 1980 volume. The 1982 edition was a greatly expanded version of the first. This volume is primarily an update. But it contains new arrays of data in the fast-changing areas of campaign finance and budgeting. And again there is a lengthy appendix with information on each legislator. But the book is not about individuals. It is resolutely a book about Congress as an institution. Its statistics are about overall congressional performance, about groups of legislators, categories of legislators, and their behavior. It is about the House and the Senate taken together and taken separately. It is about elections and parties, about staffs and committees. Its statistics are aggregate statistics, designed to present an overall institutional perspective.

Thus it is neither a replacement for nor a competitor of *Politics in America* or the *Almanac of American Politics*, both of which detail the careers, the constituencies, and the legislative records of 535 individual legislators, one by one. *Vital Statistics* is a companion volume to them—a necessary one, for it provides an institutional scrutiny to frame their concern for individual legislators. *Vital Statistics* is also a companion volume to the daily newspaper and the nightly news, which focus on the stories of the present and not on relations with the past. This book emphasizes precisely what various other sources of our information neglect—collectivities more than individuals, patterned activity over time more than discrete happenings in the here and now.

Change is the law of institutional life. Accordingly, the statistics in this volume give us a lengthy time perspective on each subject. The book charts changes in matters from election patterns to the costs of running Congress. And it marks, in its eight interpretive introductions, milestones along the way, in areas from committee performance to partisan voting patterns. At the same time, many kinds of comparisons can be made at a single time. This is especially true of compari-

sons between the House and the Senate but also of those between parties, among committees, and, in the appendix, among individual members. Whether statistics are examined over time or in cross sections, they are available both for instant use and for prolonged reflection.

Many people watch Congress intently because they consider it the most sensitive barometer of our national yet locally derived politics. There is plenty of statistical evidence here for that view: the steady increase in party defection in voting for the House, the steady increase in the costs of political campaigns, the slow rise to national power of women and blacks, the steady growth of expertise in government, the emerging difficulty of controlling the federal budget. Many of these data confirm for us what we already know, but they give us a better basis for knowing. They will be immediately useful as raw material for the conversation of Congress watchers.

There are plenty of puzzles here, too. Some are as much puzzles for 1984 as they were for 1982. Why, after a steady increase of various forms of congressional activity, should so many indicators of such activity have started to decline? Why, in most recent years, should incumbent senators be so much less successful in winning reelection than House members? Why should such a marked increase have occurred in the number of amendments, proposed and passed, to appropriations measures in the House? Why, if party-line voting is decreasing among the electorate, should it not be decreasing similarly inside Congress? Why should the defense policy committees of both chambers rank consistently among the most conservative in their makeup while the foreign policy committees of both chambers rank just as consistently among the most liberal? What effect might this difference have on congressional policy making in these closely related policy areas?

Other puzzles are newly accented by changes in political life since the last edition of *Vital Statistics*. It is startling to read that the increase in campaign expenditures between 1980 and 1982 was "the largest single two-year increase" and that increases in campaign expenditures continue to far outpace increases in the cost of living. A trend already drawing national attention is apparently accelerating. What is happening here? Are candidate qualifications, campaign techniques, and policy outcomes changing at the same breakneck speed as campaign expenditures, or are things pretty much business as usual in congressional life?

When the 1982 volume went to press, Ronald Reagan was enjoying spectacular success in pushing his legislative program through Congress. This book records a change in that level of success. And it

records the increased polarization of politics in committee and on the floor of both chambers. These data raise the questions, Why? and With what effect? Fuel for discussion of these questions can be found in the new data on budgeting. In those data we find evidence of declining presidential success and greater party polarization. Equally intriguing is the steady growth in budget-related roll calls. Is this growth a product of the Reagan presidency, or is it evidence of a longer-term trend? And don't the data of chapter 7 tell us that Congress is slowly losing control of the budget process—see the use of continuing resolutions, the use of supplementals, the disuse of the second budget resolution—at the very time when budget questions are crowding the legislative agenda? What is cause? What is effect?

With this third edition, *Vital Statistics* is taking its place as a reliable landmark for people who watch the legislative landscape for evidence of stability and of change. As the various time series lengthen, so does an ability to distinguish the more stable from the more changing features of that landscape. Thinking about change and stability with respect to our legislative institution may encourage a similar perspective on the context within which Congress exists. In time it may even be widely conceded that Congress is the best known, the best understood, and the most fascinating of our national political institutions. Probably not. Among the readers of *Vital Statistics*, however, the debate over these questions will be better informed. There might even be a few freshly recruited Congress watchers to participate in it.

RICHARD F. FENNO, JR.
University of Rochester
Visiting Scholar, AEI

Acknowledgments

The third edition of this book involved the efforts of a number of people. Even though this edition does not have many completely new tables, the work involved in researching, calculating, checking and rechecking even an updated table or chart is immense. Jim Barnes, Jill Pearlman, Tom Skladony, and Ron Latz carried much of the burden, building on the base formed by Nina Kerstiens, Chuck Coughlin, and others. Suggestions, assistance, and corrections for this edition came from Roger Davidson, Dick Fenno, Pat Patterson, Fred Pauls, and many others. A special acknowledgment must go to the AEI publications staff, whose professional efforts, as always, were consistent and thorough, and contributed greatly to the quality of this volume.

1
Members of Congress

This chapter includes data on the regional distribution, partisanship, and seniority of members of Congress. Table 1–1 examines congressional apportionment within eight regions from 1910 (when the U.S. House of Representatives reached its permanent size of 435) through 1980. Between 1910 and 1980 the South (especially Florida and Texas) and the West (California) gained a significant number of seats. The 1980 census also brought a major gain to the Rocky Mountain states (see figure 1–1).

Since 1960 the most notable losses have come in the Mid-Atlantic, the Midwest, and the Plains regions, led by New York (down from a high of forty-five seats in the 1940s to thirty-four in the 1980s) and Pennsylvania (down from thirty-three to twenty-three seats in the same period). In the 1940s New York had by far the largest congressional delegation, followed by Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and California. In the 1980s California will have much the largest delegation, followed by New York and then Texas.

Shifts in the number of House seats within the various regions have been accompanied by changes in the ratio of Democrats to Republicans within these regions (see tables 1–2 and 1–3 and figure 1–2). In the 1920s, for example, the Democrats completely dominated the South and had a substantial edge in the Border states, while the Republicans were dominant in the six other regions, particularly New England, the Midwest, and the Plains states. By the mid-1930s, the Democrats dominated every region except New England and the Plains (which together had only 63 of the 435 seats). Although Democratic strength in several of these regions fell during the 1940s and 1950s, the Republicans have not come close to achieving in any region the dominance they enjoyed in the 1920s.

Party strength within the regions, however, has changed considerably in recent decades. In 1960 House Democrats dominated the South and the Border regions, exhibited strength in the Rocky Mountain area, and were competitive in the formerly Republican New England and Pacific Coast regions. Only in the sparsely populated

Plains states did the Republicans have a marked advantage; they also maintained a sizable majority in the Midwest.

By 1980 the regional map of party strength had changed again. The Democratic proportion of Southern and Border state seats had fallen from the 90 percent to the 65 percent range, reflecting the increased competitiveness of the parties in these areas. Similarly, Democratic party strength in the Rocky Mountain states fell from 73.3 percent of the seats in 1960 to 36.8 percent after the 1980 election, indicating a marked Republican resurgence.

With the Democratic party rebound in 1982, its share of Southern and Border seats rose somewhat to 72 percent, but the party proportion actually fell further in the Rocky Mountain region. Compared with 1960, Democrats had increased their strength in the five other regions (which have nearly two-thirds of all the seats in the House), even with their losses in 1980. And in 1982 the nationwide pattern of Democratic House gains added to their dominance. In 1960 Democrats had a minority or roughly the same number of seats as Republicans had in these regions; now they have majorities in all of them. Indeed, in the post-1982 House, Democrats had numerical majorities in all regions save the small Rocky Mountain area.

Republicans have gained over the years in areas—notably the South and the Rocky Mountains—where population and therefore the number of seats are increasing. But it will take more than regional population shifts to produce a Republican majority in the House in the foreseeable future.

As table 1-3 demonstrates, the changes in state apportionments and party strength across regions have important implications for the regional composition of the political parties within Congress. In the 1920s the Democratic party in the House was dominated by the Deep South. Most Republican members of the House were from the East and the Midwest. By the 1940s representatives from the South no longer constituted a majority of the Democratic party but a sizable plurality (a majority if one includes Border states), while Republican strength remained concentrated in the East and the Midwest.

By 1983 both parties had changed substantially in regional character. House Democrats still include more members from the South than from any other region, but the proportion, which dropped as low as 27.9 percent in 1978, is now only 30.2 percent. The Democrats now include increased shares from the Mid-Atlantic, the Midwest, and the Pacific Coast regions. Together these three regions make up 46.4 percent of House Democrats. Republicans show an increased proportion of members from the South (up to 21.0 percent of Republican House members from 1.2 percent in 1948), and the Rocky Moun-

tains, with some decline in the proportion of Republicans from the New England, the Mid-Atlantic, the Midwest, and the Plains regions. It is clear from this table that there has been a transformation in the past several decades of the South and several other regions that has changed the nature of both parties in Congress.

Tables 1-4 and 1-5 reveal similar trends in the Senate. Since their deep losses in the 1980 election, Senate Democrats are much less strong than their House counterparts in the South and weaker too in the New England, Mid-Atlantic, and Rocky Mountain regions. In the South, Democrats have fallen from their long-time total dominance of the region (100 percent of the seats through 1960) to an even split with the Republicans in 1983–1984. In spite of their minority status, Senate Democrats continue to maintain greater strength, proportionately, than House Democrats in the Midwest. The reverse patterns, of course, are true for House and Senate Republicans.

A comparison of table 1-5 with table 1-3 shows that, although broad party trends over time are similar for the House and the Senate, the different bases of elections for the two bodies lead to significant differences in the regional makeup of the House and Senate Democratic and Republican parties. Both Senate parties (though especially the Republicans) show considerably more Plains and Rocky Mountain influence than their House counterparts do because these two regions, though sparsely populated, elect twenty-eight senators. The same pattern prevails for New England.

Conversely, the House Democratic and Republican parties have greater proportions of members from the Mid-Atlantic and the Midwest regions than the Senate parties do. Note especially that only 7.4 percent of the Republican members of the post-1982 Senate were from the Midwest and 7.4 percent from the Mid-Atlantic regions—compared with 21.6 percent and 17.4 percent, respectively, for the House Republican party. These regional differences within parties and across chambers have very interesting implications for House-versus-Senate responses to future Sunbelt-Frostbelt or other regional tensions that may flare over energy or economics.

Tables 1-6 and 1-7 show the experience of members of the House and Senate since 1953. Throughout the 1960s there was a steady increase in the proportion of very senior House members—"careerists"—and an intermittent but real decline in the proportion of very junior legislators (see table 1-6). The beginning of the Ninety-second Congress (1971) was the peak of both these trends—the twenty-year club had reached 20 percent of the House membership, while the proportion that had served six years or less had fallen to 34 percent. It was the peak as well in mean terms served.

These trends were reversed dramatically during the 1970s. In the Ninety-seventh Congress (1981–1982), junior members made up 47 percent of the House and the careerists only 11 percent. A 1.7-to-1 ratio of juniors to seniors in 1971 had changed to a 4.3-to-1 ratio in only a decade. The postwar record number of retirements was the major factor in this decline of seniority in the House. Clearly these changes contributed mightily to the reforms enacted in the House during the same period. A bulge in the senior group in 1983 reduced the junior-senior ratio slightly, to 3.8 to 1, but is unlikely to presage a new, major trend back toward careerism.

Table 1-7 shows years of service in the Senate over the same time span. In contrast to the House, a high proportion of the members of the Senate of the 1950s were in their first term. Senior senators with three terms or more composed only 6 percent to 10 percent of the Senate; senators with at least two terms of service accounted for only 15 percent of the chamber. This pattern began to change as the Eighty-sixth Congress convened after the 1958 elections. The number of senators in their third term swelled from seven to fifteen, with the addition of a group of conservative Southern Democrats and Midwestern Republicans who had first come to the Senate at the end of World War II. These same people expanded the ranks of the most senior group six years later, in 1965, from nine to eighteen. These dates are particularly interesting because they reflect two elections—1958 and 1964—that are usually noted for the influx of large numbers of new liberal, non-Southern Democrats into the Senate. Indeed, the conjunction of the two patterns no doubt contributed to the changes in the distribution of power in the Senate that took place in the 1960s and 1970s.

At the low end of the seniority scale, other patterns prevail. The number of first-term senators, which averaged about forty in the 1950s and early 1960s, dropped markedly in the mid-1960s to an average of about thirty and reached a low point of twenty-seven in 1971. The number of freshmen climbed again in the 1970s and, paralleling the House, hit a post-World War II high of forty-eight in 1979, then jumped to a remarkable fifty-five after the 1980 election. At the same time, a renewed volatility at the polls and accelerated retirements thinned the ranks in the middle and upper ranges of seniority.

After more than a decade of reform, the large number of junior senators enjoyed more power and initiative than did the comparable number of junior senators in the mid-1950s, even in the Republican Ninety-seventh Senate. The remarkably small turnover in the 1982 Senate elections meant a freshman class of only five—the smallest in memory—and as a consequence, the Ninety-eighth Senate saw an

increase in mean years of service and a marked reduction in the number of first-term senators. Still, junior members continue to exert a great deal of influence.

Tables 1–8 through 1–13 list prior occupations of members of Congress by body and party from the Eighty-third through the Ninety-seventh Congresses. Overall, it is clear that lawyers, businessmen, and bankers continue to dominate both houses of Congress, though in proportions somewhat different from those in earlier times: 46 percent of the Ninety-eighth House and 61 percent of the Ninety-eighth Senate are lawyers; 32 percent of the House and 35 percent of the Senate had been engaged in business or banking. Although these numbers are high, they do not compare to, say, the Ninetieth House, when 57 percent of the members were lawyers and 37 percent had been in business or banking. The number of lawyers in the Senate has also dropped, from sixty-eight in the Ninetieth Congress to sixty-one now, while the number of senators who had been in business or banking has risen substantially over the same time.

Among other significant occupations, the House and Senate have seen the number of farmers decline since the 1950s and 1960s, from an average of 11 or 12 percent in the House to 6 percent and from 18 or 20 percent in the Senate to 9 percent. The number of journalists has also declined somewhat in both houses. In the House of Representatives, the number of educators increased from 10 percent or so in the 1950s to nearly 15 percent in 1981, but dropped back down again after the 1982 election. In the same period in the Senate, the number of educators has declined steadily over the past fifteen years.

There are party differences, though not startling ones, in occupation. More House Republicans than House Democrats come from the world of business and banking, by roughly 40 percent to 27 percent in the Ninety-eighth Congress. Interestingly, these differences do not prevail in the Senate. More Democrats than Republicans in the House are lawyers and educators. Democratic senators also include a much higher proportion of lawyers than Republican senators do. In contrast, Republicans in both houses have a greater share of members from farming backgrounds.

Tables 1–14 and 1–15 give the religious affiliations of members of both houses of Congress. Note the increase, since the 1960s, in the number of Catholics and Jews and the decline in the number of Methodists and Presbyterians.

Tables 1–16 and 1–17 show the number of blacks and women, respectively, in Congress. Of particular interest are the party shift, from the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth, in black members,

their steep increase in the Ninety-first and Ninety-second Congresses, and the increase in the Ninety-seventh Congress of Republican women.

Table 1–18 traces the shifts in party members and partisan control in the House and Senate since the Thirty-fourth Congress in 1855–1857. The respective eras of Republican and Democratic dominance of Congress are clearly shown in this table. The consistent Democratic majorities in the past few decades make the Senate shift to Republican control in 1981 all the more striking.

TABLE 1–1

APPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL SEATS, BY REGION AND STATE, 1910–1980
(435 seats)

Region and State	*1910*	*1930*	*1940*	*1950*	*1960*	*1970*	*1980*
South	104	102	105	106	106	108	116
Alabama	10	9	9	9	8	7	7
Arkansas	7	7	7	6	4	4	4
Florida	4	5	6	8	12	15	19
Georgia	12	10	10	10	10	10	10
Louisiana	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Mississippi	8	7	7	6	5	5	5
North Carolina	10	11	12	12	11	11	11
South Carolina	7	6	6	6	6	6	6
Tennessee	10	9	10	9	9	8	9
Texas	18	21	21	22	23	24	27
Virginia	10	9	9	10	10	10	10
Border	47	43	42	38	36	35	34
Kentucky	11	9	9	8	7	7	7
Maryland	6	6	6	7	8	8	8
Missouri	16	13	13	11	10	10	9
Oklahoma	8	9	8	6	6	6	6
West Virginia	6	6	6	6	5	4	4
New England	32	29	28	25	25	25	24
Connecticut	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
Maine	4	3	3	3	2	2	2
Massachusetts	16	15	14	14	12	12	11
New Hampshire	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Rhode Island	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Vermont	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mid-Atlantic	92	94	93	88	84	80	72
Delaware	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
New Jersey	12	14	14	14	15	15	14
New York	43	45	45	43	41	39	34
Pennsylvania	36	34	33	30	27	25	23
Midwest	86	90	87	87	88	86	80
Illinois	27	27	26	25	24	24	22
Indiana	13	12	11	11	11	11	10
Michigan	13	17	17	18	19	19	18
Ohio	22	24	23	23	24	23	21
Wisconsin	11	10	10	10	10	9	9

(Table continues)

TABLE 1-1 (continued)

Region and State	*1910*	*1930*	*1940*	*1950*	*1960*	*1970*	*1980*
Plains	41	34	31	31	27	25	24
Iowa	11	9	8	8	7	6	6
Kansas	8	7	6	6	5	5	5
Minnesota	10	9	9	9	8	8	8
Nebraska	6	5	4	4	3	3	3
North Dakota	3	2	2	2	2	1	1
South Dakota	3	2	2	2	2	2	1
Rocky Mountain	14	14	16	16	17	19	24
Arizona	1	1	2	2	3	4	5
Colorado	4	4	4	4	4	5	6
Idaho	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Montana	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Nevada	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
New Mexico	1[a]	1	2	2	2	2	3
Utah	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Wyoming	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pacific Coast	19	29	33	43	52	57	61
Alaska	—	—	—	1[b]	1	1	1
California	11	20	23	30	38	43	45
Hawaii	—	—	—	1[b]	2	2	2
Oregon	3	3	4	4	4	4	5
Washington	5	6	6	7	7	7	8

a. New Mexico became a state in 1912; in 1910 it had a nonvoting delegate in Congress.

b. Alaska became a state on January 3, 1959, Hawaii on August 21, 1959. In 1950 each had a nonvoting delegate in Congress, making the total for that year 437; subsequent reapportionment reduced the total to 435.

SOURCES: The 1910–1970 figures are taken from Congressional Quarterly, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, p. 531. Data for 1980 are from the Census Bureau.

TABLE 1-2

DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTH IN THE HOUSE, BY REGION, 1924–1982

Region	*1924*	*1936*	*1948*	*1960*	*1972*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
South								
Percent	97.1	98.0	98.1	94.2	68.2	71.3	64.5	71.2
Seats	104	101	105	104	107	108	107	116
Border								
Percent	58.7	95.2	88.1	84.2	77.1	77.1	67.6	76.4
Seats	46	42	42	38	35	35	34	34
New England								
Percent	12.5	44.8	39.3	50.0	64.0	72.0	64.0	66.6
Seats	32	29	28	28	25	25	25	24
Mid-Atlantic								
Percent	26.7	68.0	48.9	49.4	53.8	63.8	53.8	58.3
Seats	90[a]	94	92[b]	87	80	80	80	72
Midwest								
Percent	16.9	78.3	43.7	40.7	38.4	55.3	51.2	55.0
Seats	83[c]	83[d]	87	86	86	85	84	80
Plains								
Percent	15.4	44.8	16.1	19.4	33.3	40.0	36.0	54.2
Seats	39[e]	29[f]	31	31	24	25	25	24
Rocky Mountain								
Percent	28.6	93.3	75.0	73.3	42.1	47.4	36.8	34.8
Seats	14	15	16	15	19	19	19	23
Pacific Coast								
Percent	19.0	80.0	37.1	51.2	57.9	66.1	56.1	62.3
Seats	21	30[g]	35	43	57	56	57	61

NOTE: Numbers refer to the Congress that followed the election. Number of seats is total for all parties in the region (exceptions noted below). Does not include vacant seats. Discrepancy in the number of regional seats before and after 1980 is caused by post-1980 redistricting.

a. Excludes one seat held by a Socialist from New York.

b. Excludes one seat occupied by a representative from New York who was a member of the American Labor party.

c. Excludes one seat held by a Socialist from Wisconsin.

d. Excludes seven seats held by Progressives from Wisconsin.

e. Excludes two seats occupied by representatives from Minnesota who were members of the Farmer Labor party.

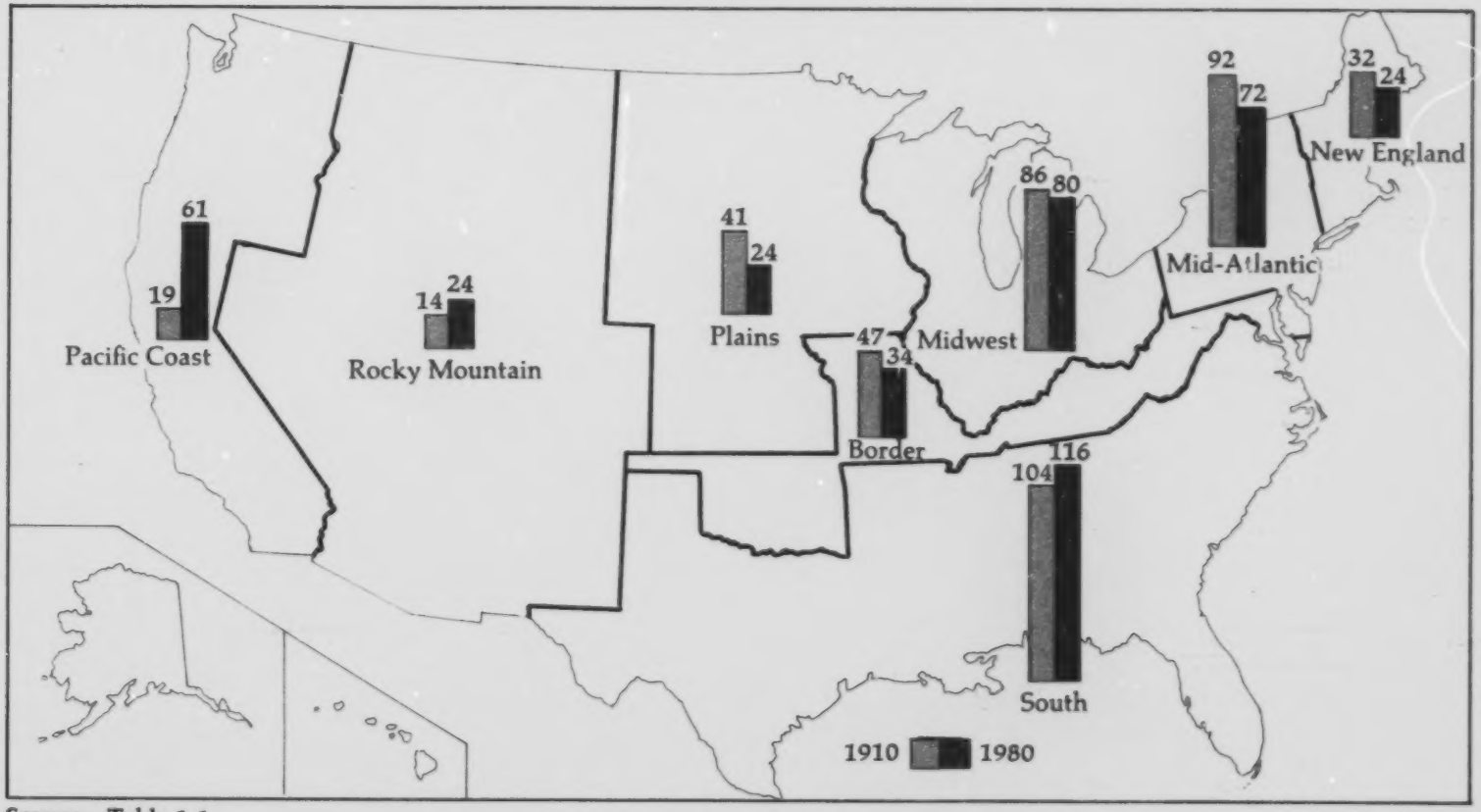
f. Excludes five seats occupied by representatives from Minnesota who were members of the Farmer Labor party.

g. Excludes one seat held by a Progressive from California.

SOURCES: 1925, 1937, 1949, 1961, 1973, 1979, 1981, and 1983 *Congressional Directory,* compiled under the direction of the U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing.

FIGURE 1–1

APPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL SEATS BY REGION, 1910 AND 1980



SOURCE: Table 1-1.

TABLE 1–3

DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE HOUSE, BY REGION, 1924–1982

	1924		*1936*		*1948*		*1960*		*1972*		*1978*		*1980*		*1982*	
Region	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
South																
Percent	54.9	1.2	29.8	2.2	39.2	1.2	37.5	3.5	30.3	17.7	27.9	19.7	28.5	20.1	30.2	21.0
Seats	101	3	99	2	103	2	98	6	73	34	77	31	69	38	81	35
Border																
Percent	14.7	7.8	12.0	2.2	14.1	2.9	12.3	3.5	11.2	4.2	9.8	5.1	9.5	5.8	9.7	4.8
Seats	27	19	40	2	37	5	32	6	27	8	27	8	23	11	26	8
New England																
Percent	2.2	11.4	3.9	17.6	4.2	9.9	5.4	8.2	6.6	4.7	6.5	4.5	6.6	4.8	6.0	4.8
Seats	4	28	13	16	11	17	14	14	16	9	18	7	16	9	16	8
Mid-Atlantic																
Percent	13.0	26.9	19.3	33.0	17.1	27.5	16.5	25.7	17.8	19.3	18.5	18.5	17.8	19.6	16.0	17.4
Seats	24	66	64	30	45	47	43	44	43	37	51	29	43	37	43	29

TABLE 1-4

DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTH IN THE SENATE, BY REGION, 1924–1982

Region	*1924*	*1936*	*1948*	*1960*	*1972*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
South								
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	68.2	72.7	54.4	50.0
Seats	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Border								
Percent	50.0	100.0	80.0	60.0	50.0	70.0	70.0	70.0
Seats	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
New England								
Percent	8.3	50.0	25.0	41.7	58.3	58.3	50.0	50.0
Seats	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Mid-Atlantic								
Percent	37.5	75.0	37.5	25.0	37.5	50.0	50.0	50.0
Seats	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Midwest								
Percent	10.0	88.9	20.0	70.0	60.0	80.0	60.0	60.0
Seats	10	9[a]	10	10	10	10	10	10
Plains								
Percent	0.0	66.7	16.7	25.0	58.3	41.7	25.0	25.0
Seats	11[b]	9[c]	12	12	12	12	12	12
Rocky Mountain								
Percent	50.0	93.8	75.0	75.0	43.8	37.5	31.3	31.3
Seats	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Pacific Coast								
Percent	16.7	50.0	33.3	80.0	60.0	60.0	40.0	40.0
Seats	6	6	6	10	10	10	10	10

NOTE: Number of seats is total for all parties in the region (exceptions noted below).

a. Excludes one Progressive from Wisconsin.

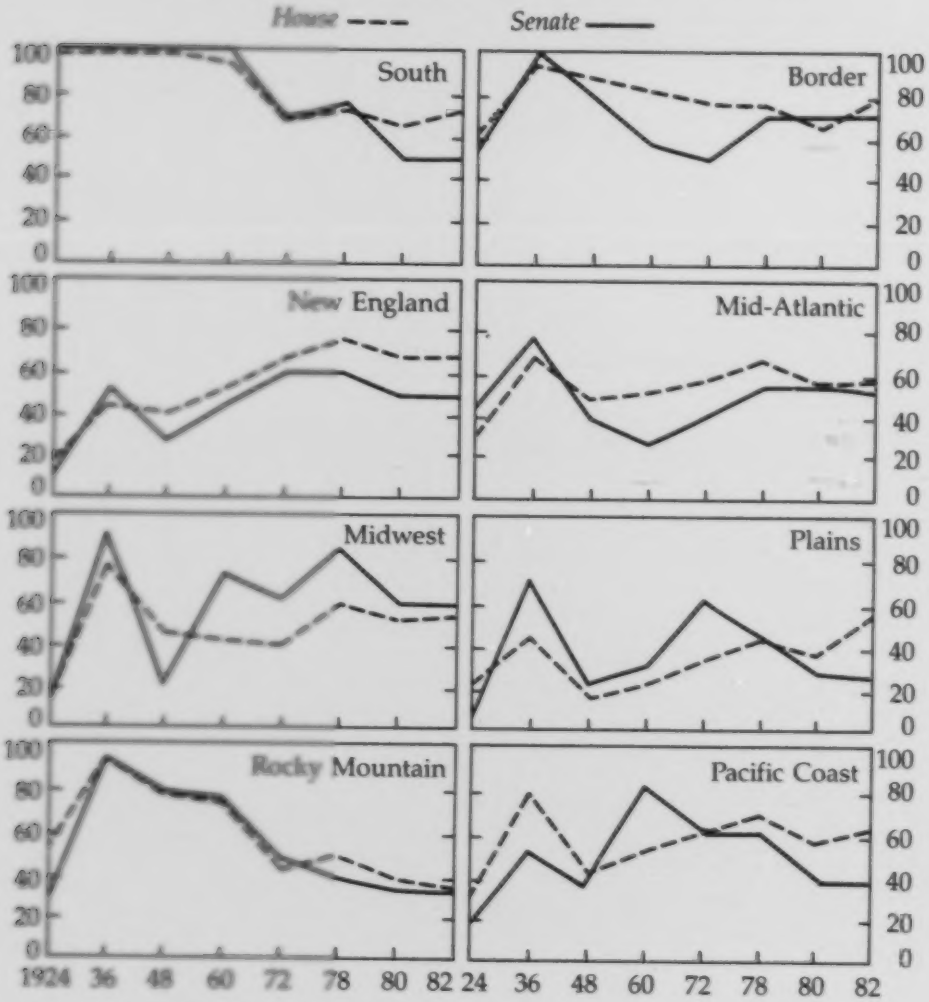
b. Excludes one senator from Minnesota who was a member of the Farmer Labor party.

c. Excludes two senators from Minnesota and one senator from Nebraska who were members of the Farmer Labor party.

SOURCES: 1925, 1937, 1949, 1961, 1973, 1979, 1981, and 1983 *Congressional Directory*.

FIGURE 1-2

DEMOCRATIC PARTY STRENGTH IN CONGRESS, BY REGION, 1924–1982
(percentage of Democratic seats in regional delegation)



SOURCE: Tables 1-2 and 1-4.

TABLE 1–6

SENIORITY OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1953–1983

Congress	*Percentage of Representatives Serving*								*Mean Term*	*Median Term*
	1 term	2 terms	3 terms	1–3 terms	4–6 terms	7–9 terms	10+ terms	*Total*		
83d (1953)										
Percent	18	14	12	44	29	16	10	100	4.9	4
Seats	78	62	53	193	127	70	42	432		
84th (1955)										
Percent	11	17	13	42	26	19	12	100	5.2	4
Seats	50	74	58	182	115	84	54	435		
85th (1957)										
Percent	9	11	16	36	31	17	16	100	5.5	5
Seats	40	46	69	155	133	74	71	433		
86th (1959)										
Percent	18	10	10	38	30	17	15	100	5.6	4
Seats	79	43	43	165	131	74	66	436		
87th (1961)										
Percent	13	15	8	36	29	18	17	100	5.8	5
Seats	55	65	35	155	126	77	74	432		
88th (1963)										
Percent	15	13	13	41	24	19	17	100	5.7	5
Seats	66	55	55	176	104	81	74	435		
89th (1965)										
Percent	19	14	11	44	22	18	17	100	5.5	4
Seats	83	60	47	190	94	78	72	434		
90th (1967)										
Percent	14	15	12	41	25	16	17	100	5.6	4
Seats	60	65	54	179	110	70	75	434		
91st (1969)										
Percent	8	15	14	37	31	15	18	100	5.7	5
Seats	36	65	58	159	132	64	76	431		
92d (1971)										
Percent	11	10	13	34	29	16	20	100	6.0	5
Seats	48	45	57	150	127	69	87	433		

TABLE 1-6 (continued)

Congress	Percentage of Representatives Serving									
	1 term	2 terms	3 terms	1-3 terms	4-6 terms	7-9 terms	10+ terms	Total	Mean Term	Median Term
93d (1973)										
Percent	16	11	10	37	30	16	18	100	5.7	5
Seats	67	49	41	157	131	67	78	433		
94th (1975)										
Percent	20	14	10	44	24	19	14	100	5.4	4
Seats	86	61	42	189	102	81	61	433		
95th (1977)										
Percent	15	21	12	48	21	17	14	100	4.6	4
Seats	64	92	54	210	90	73	60	433		
96th (1979)										
Percent	18	14	17	49	22	16	13	100	5.0	4
Seats	77	61	76	214	96	70	55	435		
97th (1981)										
Percent	17	17	13	47	28	14	11	100	4.9	4
Seats	73	75	57	205	120	60	50	435		
98th (1983)										
Percent	18	14	16	49	28	11	13	100	4.6	4
Seats	80	63	68	211	121	48	55	435		

NOTE: Percentages may not add to totals because of rounding.

SOURCES: 1953-1983 *Congressional Directory*.

TABLE 1-7

SENIORITY OF SENATORS, 1953–1983

Congress	Number of Senators Serving: 6 years or less	7–12 years	13–18 years	19 years or more	Total	Mean Years Service	Median Years Service
83d (1953)	38	43	9	6	96	8.5	7
84th (1955)	43	38	9	6	96	8.4	7
85th (1957)	36	44	7	9	96	9.6	9
86th (1959)	41	32	15	10	98	9.4	8
87th (1961)	42	32	17	9	100	9.7	8.5
88th (1963)	44	27	20	9	100	9.9	7
89th (1965)	29	40	13	18	100	11.1	9
90th (1967)	28	37	17	18	100	11.6	9
91st (1969)	31	37	15	17	100	11.2	11
92d (1971)	27	40	18	15	100	11.5	10.5
93d (1973)	40	23	19	18	100	11.2	9
94th (1975)	35	27	22	15	99	11.5	9
95th (1977)	43	26	16	15	100	10.6	9
96th (1979)	48	26	10	16	100	9.6	7
97th (1981)	55	19	12	14	100	8.5	5
98th (1983)	43	30	15	12	100	9.6	7

SOURCES: 1953–1983 *Congressional Directory*.

Midwest																
Percent	7.6	28.2	19.6	19.8	14.4	28.7	13.4	29.8	13.7	27.6	17.0	24.2	17.8	21.7	16.4	21.6
Seats	14	69	65	18	38	49	35	51	33	53	47	38	43	41	44	36
Plains																
Percent	3.3	13.5	4.0	17.6	1.9	15.2	2.3	14.6	3.3	8.3	3.6	9.6	3.7	8.5	4.5	7.2
Seats	6	33	13	16	5	26	6	25	8	16	10	15	9	16	12	12
Rocky Mountain																
Percent	2.2	4.1	4.2	1.1	4.6	2.3	4.2	2.3	3.3	5.7	3.3	6.4	2.9	6.3	3.0	9.6
Seats	4	10	14	1	12	4	11	4	8	11	9	10	7	12	8	16
Pacific Coast																
Percent	2.2	6.9	7.2	6.6	4.6	12.3	8.4	12.3	13.7	12.5	13.4	12.1	13.2	13.2	14.2	13.8
Seats	4	17	24	6	12	21	22	21	33	24	37	19	32	25	38	23
Total																
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seats	184	245	332	91	263	171[a]	261	171	241	192	276	157	242	189	268	167

NOTE: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third-party members and vacant seats have been excluded. Percentages may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

a. There was one independent elected in 1948.

SOURCES: 1925, 1937, 1949, 1961, 1973, 1979, 1981, and 1983 *Congressional Directory*.

TABLE 1-5

DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE SENATE, BY REGION, 1924–1982

	1924		*1936*		*1948*		*1960*		*1972*		*1978*		*1980*		*1982*	
Region	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R	D	R
South																
Percent	53.7	0.0	28.9	0.0	40.7	0.0	33.8	0.0	26.3	16.3	27.1	14.6	25.5	18.9	23.9	20.4
Seats	22	0	22	0	22	0	22	0	15	7	16	6	12	10	11	11
Border																
Percent	12.2	9.3	13.2	0.0	14.8	4.8	9.2	11.4	8.8	11.6	11.9	7.3	14.9	5.7	15.2	5.6
Seats	5	5	10	0	5	2	6	4	5	5	7	3	7	3	7	3
New England																
Percent	2.4	20.4	7.9	37.5	5.6	21.4	7.7	20.0	12.3	11.6	11.9	12.2	12.8	11.3	13.0	11.1
Seats	1	11	6	6	3	9	5	7	7	5	7	5	6	6	6	6
Mid-Atlantic																
Percent	7.3	9.3	7.9	12.5	5.6	11.9	3.1	17.1	3.5	13.9	6.8	9.8	8.5	7.5	8.7	7.4
Seats	3	5	6	2	3	5	2	6	2	6	4	4	4	4	4	4

Midwest																
Percent	2.4	16.7	10.5	6.3	3.7	19.0	10.8	8.6	10.5	9.3	13.6	4.9	12.8	7.5	13.0	7.4
Seats	1	9	8	1	2	8	7	3	6	4	8	2	6	4	6	4
Plains																
Percent	0.0	20.4	7.9	18.8	3.7	23.8	4.6	25.7	12.3	11.6	8.5	17.1	6.4	17.0	6.5	16.7
Seats	0	11	6	3	2	10	3	9	7	5	5	7	3	9	3	9
Rocky Mountain																
Percent	19.5	14.8	19.7	6.3	22.2	9.5	18.5	11.4	15.8	16.3	10.2	24.4	10.6	20.8	10.9	20.4
Seats	8	8	15	1	12	4	12	4	9	7	6	10	5	11	5	11
Pacific Coast																
Percent	2.4	9.3	3.9	18.8	3.7	9.5	12.3	5.7	10.5	9.3	10.2	9.8	8.5	11.3	8.7	11.1
Seats	1	5	3	3	2	4	8	2	6	4	6	4	4	6	4	6
Total																
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seats	41	54	76	16	54	42	65	35	57	43	59	41	47	53	46	54

NOTE: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third-party members who did not caucus with either major party have been excluded. Percentages may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

SOURCES: 1925, 1937, 1949, 1961, 1973, 1979, 1981, and 1983 *Congressional Directory*.

TABLE 1-8

PRIOR OCCUPATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES, 83D-98TH CONGRESSES, 1953–1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	53	51	48	45	48	45	44	39	34	36	38	13	16	19	28	26
Business or banking	131	127	129	130	134	134	156	161	159	145	155	140	118	127	134	138
Engineering	5	5	3	3	3	3	9	6	6	3	2	3	2	2	5	5
Medicine	6	5	6	4	6	3	3	3	5	6	5	5	2	6	6	6
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	—
Education	46	47	46	41	39	36	68	57	59	61	59	64	70	57	59	43
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	6	4	5	2
Law	247	245	234	242	244	250	247	246	242	236	221	221	222	205	194	200
Law enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	2	7	5	5	5
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	2	2	4	5	6	6	3	2
Journalism	36	33	31	35	36	33	43	39	39	30	23	24	27	11	21	22
Veteran	246	261	258	261	270	291	310	320	320	316	317	307	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3

NOTE: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-fourth Congress.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

Law enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Journalism	5	4	4	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	1	1	2	0	3	2
Veteran	32	30	32	21	23	21	19	22	28	32	31	28	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Total number of Republican members	48	47	47	34	36	33	32	36	42	44	42	37	38	41	53	54

NOTE: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-fourth Congress.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

TABLE 1–14

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES, 88TH–98TH CONGRESSES, 1963–1983

	88th (1963)			*89th (1965)*			*90th (1967)*			*91st (1969)*			*92d (1971)*		
	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total
Catholic	72	15	87	81	13	94	73	22	95	72	24	96	77	24	101
Jewish	8	1	9	14	1	15	14	2	16	15	2	17	10	2	12
Protestant															
Baptist	38	10	48	33	9	42	30	12	42	30	13	43	32	10	42
Episcopal	23	22	45	29	25	54	25	25	50	22	27	49	27	22	49
Methodist	48	30	78	46	23	69	37	32	69	34	32	66	33	32	65
Presbyterian	28	40	68	30	26	56	27	37	64	26	38	64	26	41	67
All other	41	58	99	62	43	105	43	54	97	44	56	100	49	49	98
Total	258	176	434	295	140	435	249	184	433	243	192	435	254	180	434

NOTE: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

TABLE 1–15

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF SENATORS, 88TH–98TH CONGRESSES, 1963–1983

	88th (1963)			*89th (1965)*			*90th (1967)*			*91st (1969)*			*92d (1971)*		
	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total
Catholic	10	1	11	12	2	14	11	2	13	10	3	13	9	3	12
Jewish	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2
Protestant															
Baptist	10	2	12	9	3	12	7	4	11	6	3	9	5	3	8
Episcopal	7	8	15	8	7	15	8	7	15	5	10	15	4	13	17
Methodist	15	8	23	15	7	22	15	8	23	14	8	22	13	7	20
Presbyterian	7	4	11	8	3	11	8	4	12	8	5	13	10	6	16
All other	17	9	26	15	9	24	14	10	24	14	12	26	13	12	25
Total	67	33	100	68	32	100	64	36	100	58	42	100	55	45	100

NOTE: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

TABLE 1–14 (continued)

93d (1973)			*94th (1975)*			*95th (1977)*			*96th (1979)*			*97th (1981)*			*98th (1983)*		
D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total
69	30	99	88	22	110	95	24	119	93	23	116	81	38	119	87	37	124
10	2	12	17	3	20	20	3	23	18	5	23	21	6	27	24	5	29
33	12	45	37	10	47	36	10	46	33	10	43	28	13	41	30	8	38
25	25	50	29	21	50	26	22	48	29	22	51	25	27	52	23	19	42
30	33	63	40	23	63	36	24	60	32	26	58	26	30	56	35	22	57
25	35	60	25	25	50	23	22	45	25	27	52	18	28	46	24	25	49
50	55	105	55	40	95	56	38	94	47	45	92	44	50	94	44	49	93
242	192	434	291	144	435	292	143	435	277	158	435	243	192	435	267	165	432

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

TABLE 1–15 (continued)

93d (1973)			*94th (1975)*			*95th (1977)*			*96th (1979)*			*97th (1981)*			*98th (1983)*		
D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	D	R	Total
10	4	14	11	4	15	10	3	13	9	4	13	9	8	17	9	8	17
1	1	2	2	1	3	4	1	5	5	2	7	3	3	6	4	4	8
5	3	8	6	3	9	6	3	9	6	5	11	3	6	9	4	6	10
6	11	17	6	9	15	6	11	17	5	12	17	5	15	20	4	16	20
13	5	18	11	5	16	13	7	20	13	6	19	9	9	18	10	8	18
8	6	14	10	7	17	9	5	14	10	2	12	8	2	10	8	2	10
15	12	27	15	9	24	14	8	22	11	10	21	10	10	20	7	10	17
58	42	100	61	38	99	62	38	100	59	41	100	47	53	100	46	54	100

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

TABLE 1-9

PRIOR OCCUPATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES, 83D–98TH CONGRESSES, 1953–1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	21	22	22	28	23	21	26	17	14	19	14	13	6	10	11	13
Business or banking	55	59	57	71	64	67	98	82	76	70	72	84	69	71	58	73
Engineering	3	3	2	2	2	2	6	4	3	2	1	1	0	0	2	2
Medicine	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	4	3	3	1	1	2	2
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	2	2	2	2	0	—
Education	18	26	26	30	24	24	54	43	40	39	41	51	56	44	39	29
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	6	3	4	2
Law	130	136	137	168	159	158	171	150	150	150	137	158	154	135	114	132
Law enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2	7	4	4	2
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	4	4	2	2
Journalism	18	16	14	21	22	18	27	22	22	17	16	19	15	6	9	13
Veteran	118	131	133	175	161	175	210	183	181	185	175	198	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total number of Democratic members	213	232	234	283	262	258	295	248	243	255	242	291	292	277	243	267

NOTE: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-fourth Congress.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

TABLE 1-10

Prior Occupations of Republican Representatives, 83d-98th Congresses, 1953-1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	32	29	26	17	25	24	18	22	20	17	24	18	10	9	17	13
Business or banking	76	68	72	59	70	67	58	79	83	75	83	56	49	56	76	65
Engineering	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	3
Medicine	4	3	4	2	4	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	5	4	4
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	—
Education	28	21	20	11	15	12	14	14	19	22	18	13	14	13	20	14
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Law	117	109	97	74	85	92	76	96	92	86	84	63	68	70	80	68
Law enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	3
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	0
Journalism	18	17	17	14	14	15	16	17	17	13	7	5	12	5	12	9
Veteran	128	130	125	86	109	116	100	137	139	131	142	109	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total number of Republican members	221	203	201	153	175	176	140	187	192	180	192	144	143	158	192	167

Note: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-fourth Congress.

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

TABLE 1-11

PRIOR OCCUPATIONS OF SENATORS, 83D–98TH CONGRESSES, 1953–1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	22	21	20	17	18	16	18	18	16	13	11	10	9	6	9	9
Business or banking	28	28	28	28	31	23	25	23	25	27	22	22	24	29	28	29
Engineering	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	0
Medicine	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	—
Education	17	17	17	16	14	15	16	15	14	11	10	8	13	7	10	12
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law	59	60	59	61	63	66	67	68	68	65	68	67	68	65	59	61
Law Enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Journalism	10	10	9	13	10	8	10	10	8	7	5	5	6	2	7	7
Veteran	63	62	65	61	62	62	63	65	69	73	73	73	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

NOTE: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-fourth Congress.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

TABLE 1–12

PRIOR OCCUPATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC SENATORS, 83D–98TH CONGRESSES, 1953–1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	8	7	7	7	8	9	10	9	7	5	4	5	3	2	2	2
Business or banking	11	10	10	14	17	12	14	12	12	15	12	12	14	15	13	14
Engineering	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	1	0
Medicine	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	—
Education	11	11	11	13	11	12	12	10	9	6	7	6	8	4	5	5
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law	34	27	35	43	44	46	48	48	42	41	42	45	46	43	33	32
Law enforcement	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clergyman	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Journalism	5	6	5	10	7	7	7	7	5	5	4	4	4	2	4	5
Veteran	31	32	33	40	39	41	44	43	41	41	42	45	—	—	—	—
Aeronautics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Professional sports	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total number of Democratic members	46	48	49	64	64	67	68	64	58	54	56	60	61	58	46	46

NOTE: Dashes indicate years and occupations for which Congressional Quarterly did not compile data. Congressional Quarterly stopped tabulating the number of veterans after the Ninety-Fourth Congress.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

TABLE 1-13

PRIOR OCCUPATIONS OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS, 83D–98TH CONGRESSES, 1953–1983

Occupation	*83d* 1953	*84th* 1955	*85th* 1957	*86th* 1959	*87th* 1961	*88th* 1963	*89th* 1965	*90th* 1967	*91st* 1969	*92d* 1971	*93d* 1973	*94th* 1975	*95th* 1977	*96th* 1979	*97th* 1981	*98th* 1983
Agriculture	14	14	13	10	10	7	8	9	9	8	7	5	6	4	7	7
Business or banking	17	18	18	14	14	11	11	11	13	12	10	10	10	14	15	15
Engineering	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Science	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	--
Education	6	6	6	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	3	2	5	3	5	7
Labor leader	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law	25	33	24	18	19	20	19	20	26	24	26	22	22	22	26	29

TABLE 1-16

BLACKS IN CONGRESS, 41ST-98TH CONGRESSES, 1869-1983

	House		*Senate*			*House*		*Senate*	
Congress	D	R	D	R	*Congress*	D	R	D	R
41st (1869)	—	2	—	1	77th (1941)	1	—	—	—
42d (1871)	—	5	—	—	78th (1943)	1	—	—	—
43d (1873)	—	7	—	—	79th (1945)	1	—	—	—
44th (1875)	—	7	—	1	80th (1947)	1	—	—	—
45th (1877)	—	3	—	1	81st (1949)	1	—	—	—
46th (1879)	—	—	—	1	82d (1951)	1	—	—	—
47th (1881)	—	2	—	—	83d (1953)	1	—	—	—
48th (1883)	—	2	—	—	84th (1955)	2	—	—	—
49th (1885)	—	2	—	—	85th (1957)	3	—	—	—
50th (1887)	—	—	—	—	86th (1959)	3	—	—	—
51st (1889)	—	3	—	—	87th (1961)	3	—	—	—
52d (1891)	—	1	—	—	88th (1963)	4	—	—	—
53d (1893)	—	1	—	—	89th (1965)	5	—	—	—
54th (1895)	—	1	—	—	90th (1967)	5	—	—	1
55th (1897)	—	1	—	—	91st (1969)	9	—	—	1
56th (1899)[a]	—	1	—	—	92d (1971)	13	—	—	1
71st (1929)	—	1	—	—	93d (1973)	16	—	—	1
72d (1931)	—	1	—	—	94th (1975)	16	—	—	1
73d (1933)	—	1	—	—	95th (1977)	15	—	—	1
74th (1935)	1	—	—	—	96th (1979)	15	—	—	—
75th (1937)	1	—	—	—	97th (1981)	17	—	—	—
76th (1939)	1	—	—	—	98th (1983)	20	—	—	—

NOTE: Does not include Walter E. Fauntroy, a nonvoting delegate who represents Washington, D.C.

a. After the Fifty-sixth Congress, there were no black members in either the House or Senate until the Seventy-first Congress.

SOURCES: U.S. Congress, *Black Americans in Congress, 1870-1977*, House Document 95-258, November 3, 1977; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

TABLE 1-17

WOMEN IN CONGRESS, 65TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1917-1983

Congress	House		Senate		Congress	House		Senate	
	D	R	D	R		D	R	D	R
65th (1917)	—	1	—	—	82d (1951)	4	6	—	1
66th (1919)	—	—	—	—	83d (1953)	5	7	—	3
67th (1921)	—	2	—	1	84th (1953)	10	7	—	1
68th (1923)	—	1	—	—	85th (1957)	9	6	—	1
69th (1925)	1	2	—	—	86th (1959)	9	8	—	1
70th (1927)	2	3	—	—	87th (1961)	11	7	1	1
71st (1929)	4	5	—	—	88th (1963)	6	6	1	1
72d (1931)	4	3	1	—	89th (1965)	7	4	1	1
73d (1933)	4	3	1	—	90th (1967)	5	5	—	1
74th (1935)	4	2	2	—	91st (1969)	6	4	—	1
75th (1937)	4	1	2	—	92d (1971)	10	3	—	1
76th (1939)	4	4	1	—	93d (1973)	14	2	1	—
77th (1941)	4	5	1	—	94th (1975)	14	5	—	—
78th (1943)	2	6	1	—	95th (1977)	13	5	—	—
79th (1945)	6	5	—	—	96th (1979)	11	5	1	1
80th (1947)	3	4	—	1	97th (1981)	10	9	—	2
81st (1949)	5	4	—	1	98th (1983)	13	9	—	2

NOTE: Includes only women who were sworn in as members and served more than one day.

SOURCES: U.S. Congress, *Women in Congress*, House Report 94-1732, September 29, 1976; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

2
Elections

For the members of the House and Senate, there are no more vital statistics than those on congressional elections. Whatever their personal goals within Congress, winning reelection is the necessary first step for members. Yet, as the dramatic change in party control of the Senate in the 1980 election made clear, individual electoral success is not enough—the fate of one's party colleagues is extraordinarily important in shaping the internal character of Congress and therefore the ability of individual members to accomplish their legislative and political goals.

The data in table 2-1 document the steady decline in turnout in presidential and congressional elections between 1960 and 1980. The modest rise in 1982 and the predicted increase in 1984 are due largely to the changing age composition of the electorate and to the mobilization of blacks.

Table 2-2 relates the party's popular vote to the percentage of seats in the House of Representatives actually won over the past two decades. The long-term Democratic control of the Congress is evident in this table, although Democratic support appears slightly less robust when one concentrates on the national popular vote for the parties rather than on the seats won. In the mid-1960s and again in 1980, the Republicans came within striking distance of the Democrats in national popular vote; yet they never won more than 44 percent of the seats in those years. This form of malapportionment, in which the majority party enjoys seat margins much more favorable than its vote margins—shown clearly by the figures in the last column of table 2-2—is common to electoral systems with single-member districts. A gain of a certain percentage in a party's popular vote usually allows it to pick up two or three times that percentage in seats. Republican successes in the 1980 House elections, however, cut the Democratic majority party seat bonus to half what it was in 1976 and 1978. In 1982 an impressive effort by the National Republican party held the Democratic seat pickup to twenty-six (or 5.9 percent) in spite of a 5.2 percent increase in votes.

Net seats picked up by each party as a result of House and Senate general and special elections are shown in table 2–3. The election of 1958 was especially important to Senate Democrats in maintaining their majority during the subsequent two decades, a majority that ended abruptly with the surprising pickup of twelve seats by the Republicans in the 1980 elections. House Democrats, however, saw their strength wax and wane in pairs of elections until the Watergate year of 1974, which gave them a margin sufficient to protect their majority in the face of Republican gains in 1978 and 1980.

Table 2–4 presents the number of seats lost or gained by the president's party in midterm elections, data which have long fascinated analysts of American politics. In every midterm election except one since the Civil War, the party of the president has lost ground in the House of Representatives. The exception was 1934, which signaled the last major realignment in our party system. Although the number of seats changing party hands has varied widely over time, during the past thirty years the president's party has not once sustained a loss as deep as fifty seats. In fact, in the last four midterm elections occurring in the first term of a president, the average loss was only twelve seats.

The midterm pattern of Senate elections is different from that of the House, chiefly because only a third of the Senate is up for reelection at a time. In the thirty midterm elections since the Civil War, the president's party gained seats in ten.

As table 2–5 and figure 2–1 demonstrate, although more seats change party control than the net shifts in table 2–3 suggest, the stabilizing impact of party in House elections remains impressive: in no election since 1954 have more than 13 percent of the 435 seats changed party hands. By contrast, as many as one-third of the Senate seats up for election in any one year have changed party control (see table 2–6 and figure 2–2). In addition, in spite of the impressive advantages of incumbency, parties pick up most of their gains not in open seats but in races contested by incumbents. Finally, one is struck again by the importance of particular elections for long-term party control. In 1958 for the Senate and in 1974 for the House, the Democrats posted impressive gains that were maintained in the subsequent elections. The jury is still out on the durability of the Senate Republican gains in 1980, especially in view of the fact that nineteen Republican seats are up in 1984 and twenty-two in 1986.

Tables 2–7 and 2–8 chronicle the fate of House and Senate incumbents. In the House, incumbents who seek reelection usually succeed, a result that has been strikingly constant over the years of the modern Congress. Renomination poses no serious problem for most

incumbents, although each year a handful are defeated in primaries. And even landslides in the general election ordinarily lead to the defeat of only 10 percent of the incumbents seeking reelection. A substantial increase in retirements in the 1970s was largely responsible for the relatively high turnover during that period.

Senate incumbents have usually fared less well than their House counterparts, the level of competition in statewide races being generally higher. Both renomination and reelection have proved to be more difficult hurdles for senators than for representatives. At first glance the 1982 results appear to reverse the 1976–1980 pattern of incumbent vulnerability in the Senate. In fact, however, the outcomes mask a continuing volatility and competitiveness in Senate elections. Retirements have also increased in the Senate, although they contribute to a smaller proportion of the overall turnover in the Senate than in the House. Table 2-9 provides a party breakdown of those House and Senate retirements.

In terms of the margin of victory rather than the rate of reelection, some change has occurred in the electoral standing of House and Senate incumbents. The proportion of House incumbents who have won reelection with at least 60 percent of the major party vote has increased from about three-fifths in the 1950s and early 1960s to three-fourths in the 1970s (table 2-10). Various scholars, led by David Mayhew, have investigated the sources of this phenomenon of "vanishing" marginal seats; their explanations have ranged from a decline in the quality of challengers to an increasing public relations orientation of new-style congressmen. The resources provided incumbents for communicating with their constituents have increased substantially during this period (see chapter 5).

Table 2-11 demonstrates that a similar though more subtle change is evident in Senate elections. The overall figures obscure divergent regional shifts: while in recent years (1982 excepted) the South has lost safe seats, in the rest of the country the proportion of senators who have won reelection by a wide margin has increased from less than one-fifth to more than one-third. Of course, the contrast with the House remains. Most Senate races fall in the marginal range, and there is ample opportunity to defeat incumbents.

Yet incumbents consider themselves less electorally secure than these particular measures of marginality merit. Viewed from the perspective of congressional careers, elections pose more of a challenge to incumbents than one might think. Table 2-12 reveals that a majority of senators and almost half of the representatives serving in the Ninety-eighth Congress have received less than 55 percent of the vote, and three-fourths of them less than 60 percent, in at least one election. Moreover, when the conditions of initial election to the Congress are

examined (table 2–13), it is apparent that many representatives and a majority of senators have themselves either defeated incumbents or replaced retiring incumbents of the other party.

Tables 2–14 and 2–15 point to the substantial divergence between presidential and congressional voting. Since 1956, when the Democrats in the House and Senate withstood Eisenhower's sweeping victory in the presidential election, more than one-fourth of all congressional districts have supported a presidential candidate of one party and a House candidate of the other (table 2–14). The proportion of districts with split results reached a peak in 1972, when George McGovern received 37.5 percent of the presidential vote while his party's candidates won 51.7 percent of the congressional vote and maintained a solid majority of seats in the House. The strong party-based election of 1980 in no way departed from that pattern.

A president's ability to claim long coattails depends upon both the size of his victory margin and the number of seats his party gains in the Congress. Presidents Kennedy and Carter lost on both counts: the Republicans actually gained twenty-two House seats in 1960 and held their ground in 1976 while both victorious Democratic presidents ran ahead of Democratic representatives in only twenty-two districts (table 2–15). In 1972 Richard Nixon ran ahead of a majority of the Republicans elected to the House, but this was small consolation in view of his failure to pull a sizable bloc of new Republicans into the House. In contrast, Lyndon Johnson could claim credit for dramatically increasing his party's margin in the Congress. His reward was the Great Society legislation of 1965 and 1966.

In 1980 Ronald Reagan's presidential victory was accompanied by impressive Republican gains in the House, but fell short of the number needed to take control. Moreover, Reagan ran behind most of his party colleagues in the House. The more important manifestation of a Reagan tide was thought to be in the Senate, where a total of 50,000 votes accounted for seven Republican victories and, as a consequence, majority status.

The past two decades have witnessed a substantial increase in the impact of local forces in congressional elections. Although the United States has never had a uniform swing across constituencies as Britain has, the figures in table 2–16 illustrate how difficult it is to make national interpretations of the results of U.S. congressional elections. Election returns at the district level increasingly diverge from the national returns. These figures suggest an electoral base for the increasingly individualized behavior in the House of Representatives. The range in the swing across districts has increased markedly since the 1950s, and the variance, which measures the extent to which changes in local returns differ from the change in national returns, has tripled.

TABLE 1-18

Political Parties of Senators and Representatives, 34th-98th Congresses, 1855-1985

		Senate					*House of Representatives*				
Congress	*Years*	Number of senators	Democrats	Republicans	Other parties	Vacant	Number of representatives	Democrats	Republicans	Other parties	Vacant
34th	1855–1857	62	42	15	5	—	234	83	108	43	—
35th	1857–1859	64	39	20	5	—	237	131	92	14	—
36th	1859–1861	66	38	26	2	—	237	101	113	23	—
37th	1861–1863	50	11	31	7	1	178	42	106	28	2
38th	1863–1865	51	12	39	—	—	183	80	103	—	—
39th	1865–1867	52	10	42	—	—	191	46	145	—	—
40th	1867–1869	53	11	42	—	—	193	49	143	—	1
41st	1869–1871	74	11	61	—	2	243	73	170	—	—
42d	1871–1873	74	17	57	—	—	243	104	139	—	—
43d	1873–1875	74	19	54	—	1	293	88	203	—	2
44th	1875–1877	76	29	46	—	1	293	181	107	3	2
45th	1877–1879	76	36	39	1	—	293	156	137	—	—
46th	1879–1881	76	43	33	—	—	293	150	128	14	1
47th	1881–1883	76	37	37	2	—	293	130	152	11	—

48th	1883–1885	76	36	40	—	—	325	200	119	6	—
49th	1885–1887	76	34	41	—	1	325	182	140	2	1
50th	1887–1889	76	37	39	—	—	325	170	151	4	—
51st	1889–1891	84	37	47	—	—	330	156	173	1	—
52d	1891–1893	88	39	47	2	—	333	231	88	14	—
53d	1893–1895	88	44	38	3	3	356	220	126	10	—
54th	1895–1897	88	39	44	5	—	357	104	246	7	—
55th	1897–1899	90	34	46	10	—	357	134	206	16	1
56th	1899–1901	90	26	53	11	—	357	163	185	9	—
57th	1901–1903	90	29	56	3	2	357	153	198	5	1
58th	1903–1905	90	32	58	—	—	386	178	207	—	1
59th	1905–1907	90	32	58	—	—	386	136	250	—	—
60th	1907–1909	92	29	61	—	2	386	164	222	—	—
61st	1909–1911	92	32	59	—	1	391	172	219	—	—
62d	1911–1913	92	42	49	—	1	391	228	162	1	—
63d	1913–1915	96	51	44	1	—	435	290	127	18	—
64th	1915–1917	96	56	39	1	—	435	231	193	8	3
65th	1917–1919	96	53	42	1	—	435	210[a]	216	9	—
66th	1919–1921	96	47	48	1	—	435	191	237	7	—
67th	1921–1923	96	37	59	—	—	435	132	300	1	2
68th	1923–1925	96	43	51	2	—	435	207	225	3	—
69th	1925–1927	96	40	54	1	1	435	183	247	5	—
70th	1927–1929	96	47	48	1	—	435	195	237	3	—

(Table continues)

TABLE 1-18 (continued)

		Senate					*House of Representatives*				
Congress	*Years*	Number of senators	Demo-crats	Repub-licans	Other parties	Vacant	Number of repre-sentatives	Demo-crats	Repub-licans	Other parties	Vacant
71st	1929–1931	96	39	56	1	—	435	163	267	1	4
72d	1931–1933	96	47	48	1	—	435	216[b]	218	1	—
73d	1933–1935	96	59	36	1	—	435	313	117	5	—
74th	1935–1937	96	69	25	2	—	435	322	103	10	—
75th	1937–1939	96	75	17	4	—	435	333	89	13	—
76th	1939–1941	96	69	23	4	—	435	262	169	4	—
77th	1941–1943	96	66	28	2	—	435	267	162	6	—
78th	1943–1945	96	57	38	1	—	435	222	209	4	—
79th	1945–1947	96	57	38	1	—	435	243	190	2	—
80th	1947–1949	96	45	51	—	—	435	188	246	1	—
81st	1949–1951	96	54	42	—	—	435	263	171	1	—
82d	1951–1953	96	48	47	1	—	435	234	199	2	—
83d	1953–1955	96	46	48	2	—	435	213	221	1	—
84th	1955–1957	96	48	47	1	—	435	232	203	—	—

85th	1957–1959	96	49	47	—	—	435	234	201	—	—
86th	1959–1961	98	64	34	—	—	436[c]	283	153	—	—
87th	1961–1963	100	64	36	—	—	437[d]	262	175	—	—
88th	1963–1965	100	67	33	—	—	435	258	176	—	1
89th	1965–1967	100	68	32	—	—	435	295	140	—	—
90th	1967–1969	100	64	36	—	—	435	248	187	—	—
91st	1969–1971	100	58	42	—	—	435	243	192	—	—
92d	1971–1973	100	54	44	2	—	435	255	180	—	—
93d	1973–1975	100	56	42	2	—	435	242	192	1	—
94th	1975–1977	100	61	37	2	—	435	291	144	—	—
95th	1977–1979	100	61	38	1	—	435	292	143	—	—
96th	1979–1981	100	58	41	1	—	435	277	158	—	—
97th	1981–1983	100	46	53	1	—	435	243	192	—	—
98th	1983–1985	100	46	54	—	—	435	268	167	—	—

NOTE: All figures reflect immediate result of elections.

a. Democrats organized House with help of other parties.

b. Democrats organized House because of Republican deaths.

c. Proclamation declaring Alaska a state issued January 3, 1959.

d. Proclamation declaring Hawaii a state issued August 21, 1959.

SOURCE: *Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Elections of November 4, 1980.* Compiled from official sources by Thomas E. Ladd, under direction of Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr., clerk of the House of Representatives (Washington, D.C., 1981); updated with *Congressional Directory* for Ninety-eighth Congress.

Finally, table 2–17 presents data that confirm the basis in individual voting behavior for many of the electoral patterns reported in this chapter. The decline in the proportion of party-line voters through the 1980 House elections is consistent with the view that voting is increasingly candidate centered. Yet the resurgence of party-line voting in the 1982 midterm elections suggests that the electorate retains the capacity to respond to national political events in highly partisan ways.

TABLE 2–1

TURNOUT IN PRESIDENTIAL AND HOUSE ELECTIONS, 1930–1982
(percentage of voting age population)

Year	*Presidential Elections*	*House Elections*
1930	—	33.7
1932	52.4	49.7
1934	—	41.4
1936	56.9	53.5
1938	—	44.0
1940	58.9	55.4
1942	—	32.5
1944	56.0	52.7
1946	—	37.1
1948	51.1	48.1
1950	—	41.1
1952	61.6	57.6
1954	—	41.7
1956	59.3	55.9
1958	—	43.0
1960	62.6	58.5
1962	—	45.4
1964	61.9	57.8
1966	—	45.4
1968	60.9	55.1
1970	—	43.5
1972	55.4	50.9
1974	—	36.1
1976	54.4	49.5
1978	—	35.1
1980	53.4	48.1
1982	—	37.7

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1930–1976, Washington, D.C.; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 37 (March 31, 1979), p. 571, and vol. 39 (April 25, 1981), p. 716, vol. 41 (Feb. 17, 1983), p. 389.

TABLE 2-3

NET PARTY GAINS IN HOUSE AND SENATE SEATS, GENERAL AND SPECIAL ELECTIONS, 1946–1982

	General Elections[a]		*Special Elections*[b]	
Year	House	Senate	House	Senate
1946	56R	13R	1R (8)	3R (8)
1948	75D	9D	0 (4)	0 (3)
1950	28R	5R	0 (10)	2R (6)
1952	22R	1R	2R (10)	2R (4)
1954	19D	2D	2D (8)	0 (9)
1956	2D	1D	0 (3)	2R (3)
1958	49D	15D	0 (10)	1D (4)
1960	22R	2R	1R (8)	1D (3)
1962	1R	3D	0 (12)	0 (6)
1964	37D	1D	2R (12)	0 (2)
1966	47R	4R	1D (10)	1R (3)
1968	5R	6R	1R (6)	0 (0)
1970	12D	2R	2D (14)	0 (2)
1972	12R	2D	0 (10)	0 (2)
1974	49D	4D	4D (10)	0 (0)
1976	1D	0	0 (7)	1D (1)
1978	15R	3R	4R (6)	1R (2)
1980	34R	12R	1R (7)	0 (0)
1982	26D	1R	0 (3)[c]	0 (0)

NOTE: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

a. The general election figure is the difference between the number of seats won by the party gaining seats in that election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election.

b. The special election figure is the net shift in seats held by the major parties as a result of special elections held between the two general elections. The number of special elections is given in parentheses.

(Notes continue)

c. The voting for the House officially ended when elections were held in two Georgia districts, November 30, 1982. The balloting in the two Atlanta-area constituencies was postponed because of redistricting problems. In Indiana, Katie Hall won a special election to fill a seat vacated by the death of Representative Adam Benjamin (D); the election was held November 2, 1982.

SOURCES: *Statistics of the Congressional Election of November 7, 1978*, p. 45; Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vols. 2–40; and Congressional Quarterly, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 1975.

TABLE 2–4

LOSSES BY PRESIDENT'S PARTY IN MIDTERM ELECTIONS, 1862–1982

Year	*Party Holding Presidency*	*President's Party Gain/Loss of Seats in House*	*President's Party Gain/Loss of Seats in Senate*
1862	R	−3	8
1866	R	−2	0
1870	R	−31	−4
1874	R	−96	−8
1878	R	−9	−6
1882	R	−33	3
1886	D	−12	3
1890	R	−85	0
1894	D	−116	−5
1898	R	−21	7
1902	R	9[a]	2
1906	R	−28	3
1910	R	−57	−10
1914	D	−59	5
1918	D	−19	−6
1922	R	−75	−8
1926	R	−10	−6
1930	R	−49	−8
1934	D	9	10
1938	D	−71	−6
1942	D	−55	−9
1946	D	−55	−12
1950	D	−29	−6
1954	R	−18	−1
1958	R	−48	−13
1962	D	−4	3
1966	D	−47	−4
1970	R	−12	2
1974	R	−48	−5
1978	D	−15	−3
1982	R	−26	1

NOTE: Each entry is the difference between the number of seats won by the president's

party in that midterm election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election. Because of changes in the overall number of seats in the Senate and House, in the number of seats won by third parties, and in the number of vacancies, a Republican loss is not always matched precisely by a Democratic gain, or vice versa.

a. Although the Republicans gained nine seats in the 1902 elections, they actually lost ground to the Democrats, who gained twenty-five seats after the increase in the overall number of representatives after the 1900 census.

SOURCES: *Statistics of the Congressional Election of November 7, 1978,* pp. 44–45. Reprinted from Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein, "The 1982 Election: What Will It Mean?" *Public Opinion* (June/July 1981), p. 49; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* vols. 10–40.

TABLE 2-5

HOUSE SEATS THAT CHANGED PARTY, 1954–1982

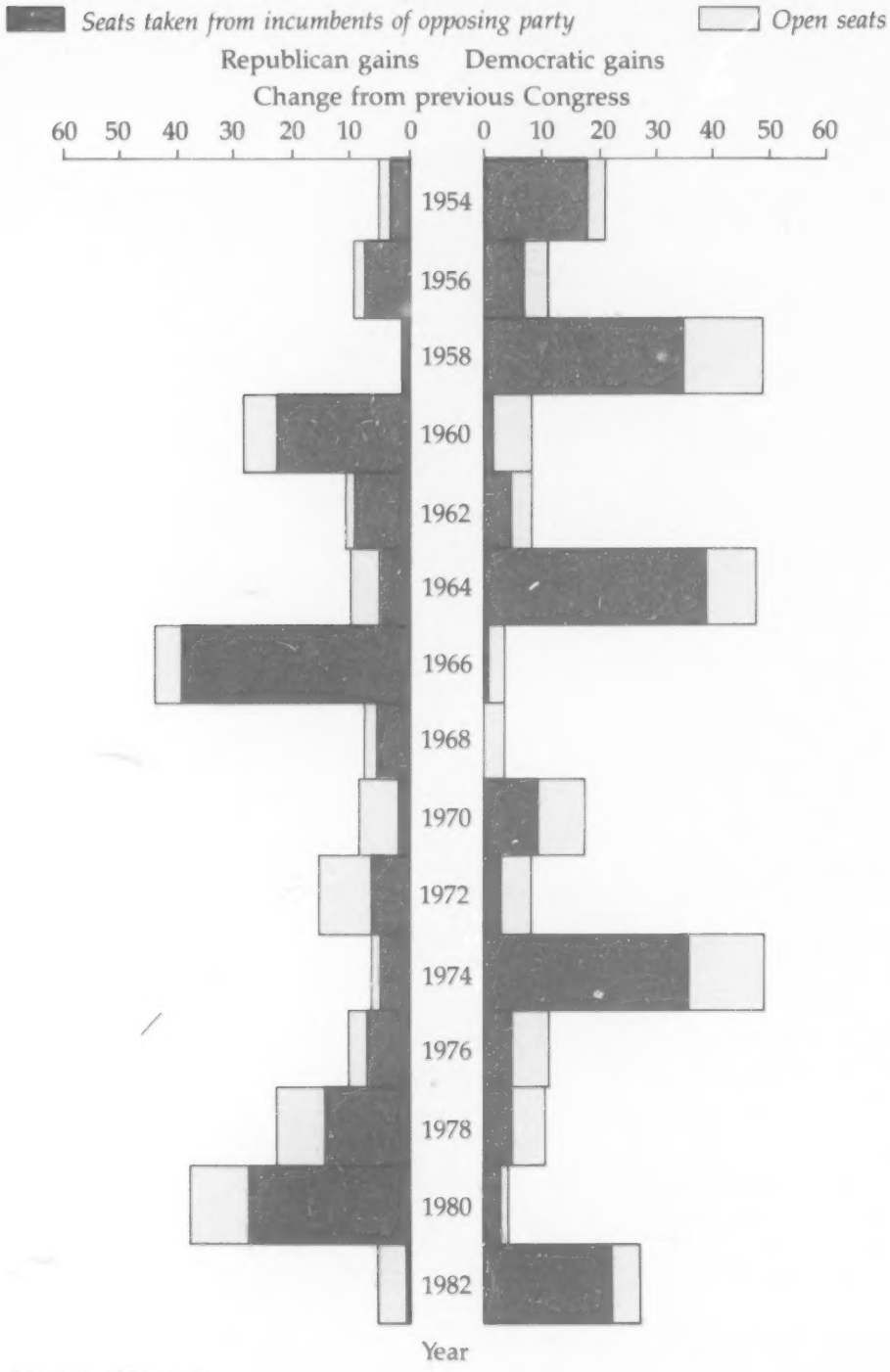
Year	Total Changes	*Incumbent Defeated*		*Open Seat*	
		D→R	R→D	D→R	R→D
1954	26	3	18	2	3
1956	20	7	7	2	4
1958	50	1	35	0	14
1960	37	23	2	6	6
1962	19	9	5	2	3
1964	57	5	39	5	8
1966	47	39	1	4	3
1968	11	5	0	2	4
1970	25	2	9	6	8
1972	23	6	3	9	5
1974	55	4	36	2	13
1976	22	7	5	3	7
1978	33	14	5	8	6
1980	41	27	3	10	1
1982	31	1	22	3	5

NOTE: This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November elections. It does not include party gains resulting from the creation of new districts and does not account for situations in which two districts were reduced to one, thus forcing incumbents to run against each other. D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* vols. 10–40.

FIGURE 2-1

HOUSE SEATS THAT CHANGED PARTY, 1954–1982



SOURCE: Table 2-5.

TABLE 2-6

SENATE SEATS THAT CHANGED PARTY, 1954–1982

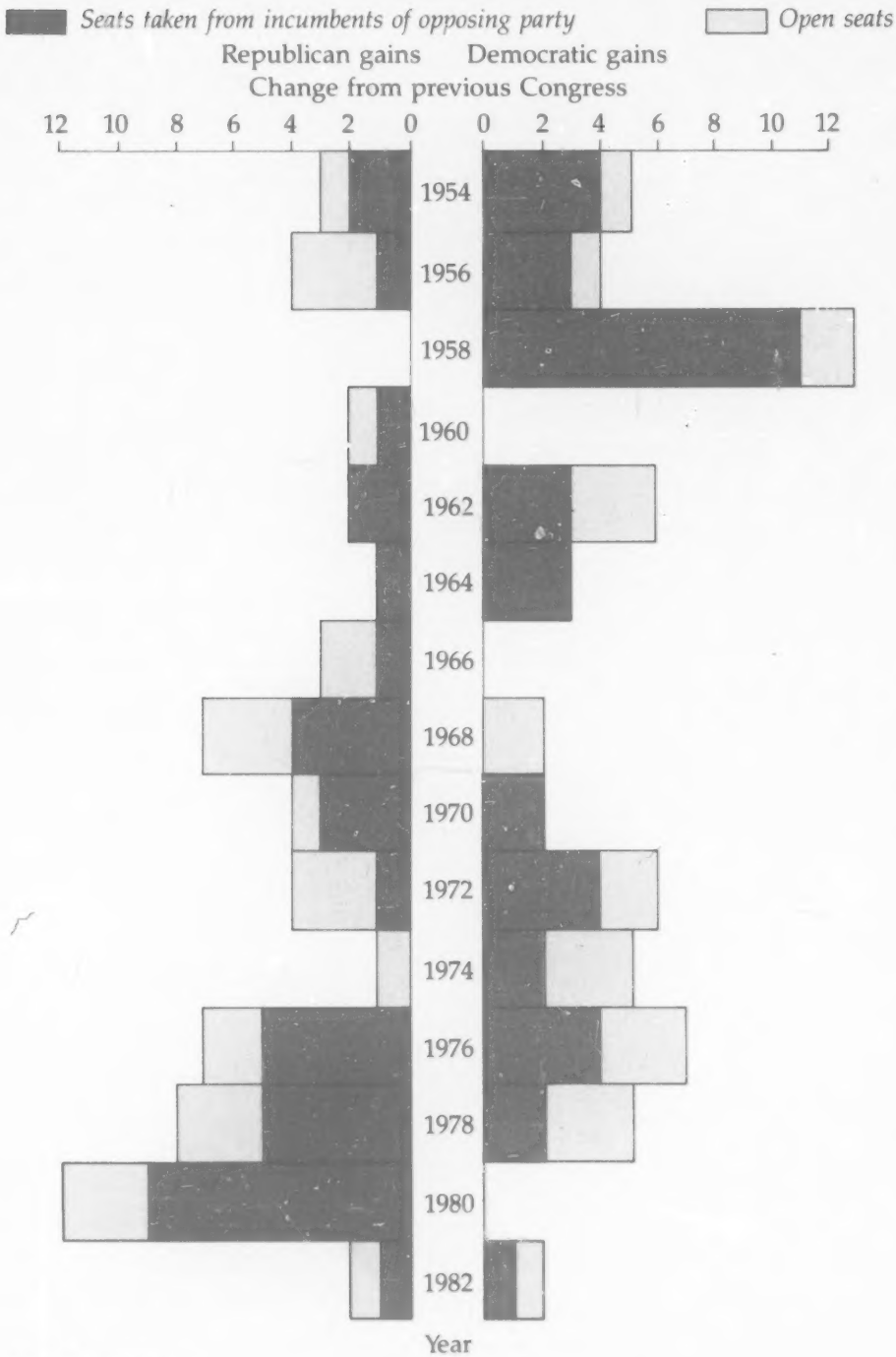
Year	Total Changes	*Incumbent Defeated*		*Open Seat*	
		D→R	R→D	D→R	R→D
1954	8	2	4	1	1
1956	8	1	3	3	1
1958	13	0	11	0	2
1960	2	1	0	1	0
1962	8	2	3	0	3
1964	4	1	3	0	0
1966	3	1	0	2	0
1968	9	4	0	3	2
1970	6	3	2	1	0
1972	10	1	4	3	2
1974	6	0	2	1	3
1976	14	5	4	2	3
1978	13	5	2	3	3
1980	12	9	0	3	0
1982	4	1	1	1	1

NOTE: This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November election. D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* vols. 10–40.

FIGURE 2–2

SENATE SEATS THAT CHANGED PARTY, 1954–1982



SOURCE: Table 2–6.

TABLE 2-2

POPULAR VOTE AND HOUSE SEATS WON, BY PARTY, 1946–1982

Year	*Democratic Candidates*		*Republican Candidates*		*Change from Last Election*[a]		*Difference between Democratic Percentage of Seats and Votes Won*
	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of seats won	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of seats won	Percentage of major-party votes	Percentage of seats won	
1946	44.3	43.3	53.5	56.7	6.4R	12.8R	−1.0
1948	51.6	60.6	45.4	39.4	7.9D	17.3D	+9.0
1950	48.9	54.0	48.9	46.0	3.2R	6.6R	+5.1
1952	49.2	49.1	49.3	50.9	0.1R	4.9R	−0.1
1954	52.1	53.3	47.0	46.7	2.6D	4.2D	+1.2
1956	50.7	53.8	48.7	46.2	1.5R	0.5D	+3.1
1958	55.5	64.9	43.6	35.1	5.0D	11.1D	+9.4
1960	54.4	60.0	44.8	40.0	1.2R	4.9R	+5.6

(Table continues)

TABLE 2-2 (continued)

Year	Democratic Candidates		Republican Candidates		Change from Last Election[a]		Difference between Democratic Percentage of Seats and Votes Won
	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of seats won	Percentage of all votes	Percentage of seats won	Percentage of major-party votes	Percentage of seats won	
1962	52.1	59.4	47.1	40.6	2.3R	0.6R	+7.3
1964	56.9	67.8	42.4	32.2	4.8D	8.4D	+10.9
1966	50.5	57.0	48.0	43.0	6.0R	10.8R	+6.5
1968	50.0	55.9	48.2	44.1	0.3R	1.1R	+5.9
1970	53.0	58.6	44.5	41.4	3.4D	2.7D	+5.6
1972	51.7	55.8	46.4	44.2	1.7R	2.8R	+4.1
1974	57.1	66.9	40.5	33.1	5.8D	11.1D	+9.8
1976	56.2	67.1	42.1	32.9	1.3R	0.2D	+10.9
1978	53.4	63.7	44.7	36.3	2.8R	3.4R	+10.3
1980	50.4	55.9	48.0	44.1	3.2R	7.8R	+5.5
1982	55.6	61.8	42.9	38.2	5.2D	5.9D	+6.2

a. Data show percentage-point increase over previous election in votes or seats won by Republicans (R) or Democrats (D).

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 35 (June 11, 1977), p. 1141, vol. 37 (March 31, 1979), p. 571, vol. 39 (April 25, 1981), p. 713, vol. 40 (November 11, 1982), pp. 2817-25, vol. 41 (February 19, 1983), p. 387; and Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, eds., *The American Elections of 1982* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1983).

TABLE 2-8

Senate Incumbents Reelected, Defeated, or Retired, 1946–1982

		Sought Reelection				
Year	*Retired*[a]	Total	Defeated in primaries	Defeated in general election	Total reelected	Reelected as percentage of those seeking reelection
1946	9	30	6	7	17	56.7
1948	8	25	2	8	15	60.0
1950	4	32	5	5	22	68.8
1952	4	31	2	9	20	64.5
1954	6	32	2	6	24	75.0
1956	6	29	0	4	25	86.2
1958	6	28	0	10	18	64.3
1960	5	29	0	1	28	96.6
1962	4	35	1	5	29	82.9
1964	2	33	1	4	28	84.8
1966	3	32	3	1	28	87.5
1968	6	28	4	4	20	71.4
1970	4	31	1	6	24	77.4
1972	6	27	2	5	20	74.1
1974	7	27	2	2	23	85.2
1976	8	25	0	9	16	64.0
1978	10	25	3	7	15	60.0
1980	5	29	4	9	16	55.2
1982	3	30	0	2	28	93.3

a. Does not include persons who died or resigned from office before the election.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 38 (January 12, 1980), p. 81, vol. 38 (April 5, 1980), p. 908, vol. 38 (November 8, 1980), p. 3302, vol. 40 (November 6, 1982), p. 2791.

TABLE 2-9

House and Senate Retirements by Party 1930–1982

	House		*Senate*	
Year	D	R	D	R
1930	8	15	2	5
1932	16	23	1	1
1934	29	9	3	1
1936	29	3	4	2
1938	21	5	3	1
1940	16	6	1	2
1942	20	12	0	0
1944	17	5	3	2
1946	17	15	4	3
1948	17	12	3	4
1950	12	17	3	1
1952	25	17	2	1
1954	11	13	1	1
1956	7	13	4	1
1958	6	27	0	6
1960	11	15	3	1
1962	10	14	2	2
1964	17	16	1	1
1966	14	8	1	2
1968	12	10	3	3
1970	11	19	3	1
1972	20	20	3	3
1974	23	21	3	4
1976	31	16	4	4
1978	31	18	5	5
1980	21	13	2	3
1982	19	21	1	2

NOTE: These figures include members who did not run again for the office they held and members who sought other offices; they do not include members who died or resigned from office before the end of the Congress.

SOURCES: 1930–1978, Mildred L. Lehmann, "Members of Congress Who Choose Not to Run for Reelection to the Seats They Occupy, 1930–1978," Congressional Research Service, May 18, 1978; 1980, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 38 (November 8, 1980), pp. 3302, 3320–21; *National Journal* (November 6, 1982), p. 1881.

TABLE 2-10

HOUSE ELECTIONS WON BY 60 PERCENT, 1956–1982

Year	*Number of Incumbents Running in General Election*	*Percentage of Incumbents Reelected with at Least 60 Percent of the Major Party Vote*
1956	403	59.1
1958	390	63.1
1960	400	58.9
1962	376	63.6
1964	388	58.5
1966	401	67.7
1968	397	72.2
1970	389	77.3
1972	373	77.8
1974	383	66.4
1976	381	71.9
1978	377	78.0
1980	392	72.9
1982	383	68.9

SOURCES: Albert D. Cover and David R. Mayhew, "Congressional Dynamics and the Decline of Competitive Congressional Elections," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., *Congress Reconsidered*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1981); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 39 (April 25, 1981), pp. 717–25, vol. 41 (February 19, 1983), pp. 386–94; and Mann and Ornstein, *American Elections of 1982*.

TABLE 2-11

Senate Elections Won by 60 Percent, 1944–1982

Election Period	Number of Incumbents Running in General Election	Percentage of Incumbents Reelected with at Least 60 Percent of the Major Party Vote[a]		
		South	North	Total U.S.
1944–48	61	100.0	22.9	39.3
1950–54	76	100.0	18.3	35.5
1956–60	84	95.5	24.2	42.9
1962–66	86	70.0	36.4	44.2
1968–72	74	71.4	38.3	44.6
1974–78	70	57.1	37.5	41.4
1980–84	25	40.0[b]	40.0	40.0
1982–86	30	75.0	53.8	56.7

a. For the purposes of this table, senators appointed to the Senate are not considered incumbents in the elections just after appointment.

b. Includes Russell Long (D-La.), who, by winning 59.8 percent of the vote in his state's all-party primary, avoided a general election contest.

Sources: Albert D. Cover and David R. Mayhew, "Congressional Dynamics"; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 39 (April 25, 1981), pp. 717–25, and vol. 41 (February 19, 1983), pp. 386–94.

TABLE 2-12

Marginal Races among Members of the 98th Congress, 1982

Chamber	Members Who Ever Won a Congressional Election by 60 Percent or Less		Members Who Ever Won a Congressional Election by 55 Percent or Less	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
House	318	73.1	213	49.0
Senate	87	87.0	64	64.0

Sources: Congressional Quarterly, *Guide to U.S. Elections;* and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 38 (November 8, 1980), and vol. 41 (February 19, 1983), pp. 386–94.

TABLE 2-13

MEANS OF ELECTION TO THE 98TH CONGRESS, 1982

Condition	House				Senate		
	Democrats	Republicans	Total	%	Democrats	Republicans	Total
Defeated incumbent							
In primary	26	4	30	6.9	7	1	8
In general election	64	44	108	24.8	13	23	36
Succeeded retiring incumbent							
Of same party	107	76	183	42.1	12	12	24
Of other party	33	21	54	12.4	9	10	19
Succeeded deceased incumbent							
Of same party	13	2	15	3.4	2	3	5
Of other party	1	4	5	1.1	1	0	1
Defeated candidate in general election who had earlier defeated incumbent in primary	1	2	3	0.7	2	5	7
New districts	24[a]	13	37	8.5	0	0	0
Total	269	166	435	100.0	46	54	100

NOTE: Percentages do not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

a. Includes resignation of Fred Richmond (D-N.Y.) before election.

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vols. 11-39; and the *1981 and 1983 Congressional Directory*, compiled under the direction of the U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing.

TABLE 2-7

HOUSE INCUMBENTS REELECTED, DEFEATED, OR RETIRED, 1946–1982

		Sought Reelection					
					Reelected		
Year	*Retired*[a]	Total	Defeated in primaries	Defeated in general election	*Total*	*Percentage of those seeking reelection*	*Percentage of House membership*
1946	32	398	18	52	328	82.4	75.4
1948	29	400	15	68	317	79.3	72.9
1950	29	400	6	32	362	90.5	83.2
1952	42	389	9	26	354	91.0	81.4
1954	24	407	6	22	379	93.1	87.1
1956	21	411	6	16	389	94.6	89.4
1958	33	396	3	37	356	89.9	81.8
1960	26	405	5	25	375	92.6	86.2
1962	24	402	12	22	368	91.5	84.6
1964	33	397	8	45	344	86.6	79.1

(Table continues)

TABLE 2-7 (continued)

		Sought Reelection					
					Reelected		
Year	Retired[a]	Total	Defeated in primaries	Defeated in general election	Total	Percentage of those seeking reelection	Percentage of House membership
1966	22	411	8	41	362	88.1	83.2
1968	23	409	4	9	396	96.8	91.0
1970	29	401	10	12	379	94.5	87.1
1972	40	390	12	13	365	93.6	83.9
1974	43	391	8	40	343	87.7	78.9
1976	47	384	3	13	368	95.8	84.6
1978	49	382	5	19	358	93.7	82.3
1980	34	398	6	31	361	90.7	83.0
1982	40	393	10	29	354	90.1	81.4

a. Does not include persons who died or resigned from office before the election.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 38 (January 12, 1980), p. 81, vol. 38 (April 5, 1980), p. 908, vol. 38 (November 8, 1980), pp. 3320-21; and *National Journal* (November 6, 1982), p. 1881.

TABLE 2-14

Ticket Splitting between Presidential and House Candidates, 1900-1980

Year	Districts[a]	Districts with Split Results[b]	
		Number	Percentage
1900	295	10	3.4
1904	310	5	1.6
1908	314	21	6.7
1912	333	84	25.2
1916	333	35	10.5
1920	344	11	3.2
1924	356	42	11.8
1928	359	68	18.9
1932	355	50	14.1
1936	361	51	14:1
1940	362	53	14.6
1944	367	41	11.2
1948	422	90	21.3
1952	435	84	19.3
1956	435	130	29.9
1960	437	114	26.1
1964	435	145	33.3
1968	435	139	32.0
1972	435	192	44.1
1976	435	124	28.5
1980	435	143	32.8

a. Before 1952 complete data are not available on every congressional district.

b. Congressional districts carried by a presidential candidate of one party and a House candidate of another party.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 36 (April 1978), p. 9; Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections* (New York: Norton, 1970), p. 109; and Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *The Almanac of American Politics 1982* (Washington: Barone and Co., 1981).

TABLE 2-15

District Voting for President and Representative, 1952-1980

Year	Number of Districts Carried by President[a]	President's Vote Compared with Vote for His Party's Successful House Candidates: President ran ahead	President ran behind
1952	297		
1956	329	155	43
1960	204	22	243
1964	375	134[b]	158[b]
1972	377	104	88
1976	220	22	270
1980	309	38[c]	150[c]

a. Refers to the winning presidential candidate in each election.

b. Does not include districts where the percentage of the total district vote won by House members equaled the percentage of the total district vote won by the president.

c. Computed on the basis of the actual presidential vote with John Anderson and others included. If recomputed on the basis of Reagan's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in fifty-nine districts.

Sources: Compiled from information in the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 36 (April 22, 1978), p. 972; *1967 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*; and Barone and Ujifusa, *Almanac of American Politics 1982*.

TABLE 2-16

Shifts in Democratic Vote in Congressional Districts, 1956-1980

Period	Change in Democratic Percentage Nationally	Change in Democratic Percentage in Congressional Districts: Greatest loss	Greatest gain	Variance[a]
1956-58	5.0	-9.5	27.3	30.3
1958-60	-1.2	-22.1	14.4	31.4
1972-74	5.8	-18.8	36.2	92.2
1974-76	-1.3	-30.7	31.6	81.0
1976-78	-2.8	-37.6	39.6	106.1
1978-80	-3.2	-27.8	37.0	85.0

a. Variance, the square of the standard deviation, measures the extent to which the changes in local returns differ from the change in national returns.

Sources: Information for 1956-1976 from Thomas E. Mann, *Unsafe at Any Margin* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978); for 1978, computed from official election returns; for 1980, computed by Larry Bartels, University of California, Berkeley.

3
Campaign Finance

If election data are a senator's or a representative's own most vital statistics, campaign finance data may be the best way for an outsider to see how congressional elections have been changing in recent years. Campaign expenditures have been going up much more quickly than the consumer price index (CPI) since 1974. Over the same years, there have also been structural changes in campaign funding: candidates have raised more money from political action committees, party participation has become more centralized, and ideological groups have increased their independent expenditures.

Assessments of these changes depend somewhat, of course, on one's perspective. Some people are shocked by the cost of campaigning and worry that the growing role of political action committees means interest groups have too much influence in the legislative process. Others dispute the direct connection between campaign contributions and legislation and see the growth in expenditures as a healthy sign of increased political communication that partially offsets the advantages of incumbency. (For incumbents' office allowances, see chapter 5, tables 5–12 and 5–13.) Whatever one's perspective, these data surely will provide fuel for some fruitful debate.

The increase in campaign spending over the 1974–1982 period stands out clearly when compared with the CPI. At a time when consumer prices were doubling (see chapter 5, table 5–9), spending by major party candidates for the House and Senate were just about quadrupling (tables 3–1 and 3–4). In the most expensive House races, only 10 House candidates spent $200,000 or more in 1974, 31 in 1976, 128 in 1978, 205 in 1980, and 353 in 1982 (table 3–2). Of these, 67 candidates spent more than $500,000 in the 1982 elections for the House (table 3–3).

The two years between 1980 and 1982 also saw the largest single two-year increase in expenditures, as House candidates spent about 52 percent more in 1982 than they did in 1980. (The CPI went up 17 percent over the same period.) Most of the two-year increase can be attributed to incumbents who won reelection by more than 60 percent

of the two-party vote. Many safe incumbents who would have been satisfied with raising only small amounts in past years were frightened into making large expenditures by two considerations: first, many of their supposedly safe colleagues lost in 1978 and 1980; second, redistricting meant that part of almost every incumbent's district was new in 1982.

Although campaign spending went up, not all candidates fared equally well with their fund raising. Challengers facing safe House and Senate incumbents (those who won with 60 percent or more) had a particularly hard time, and the gap between incumbents and challengers in those races has been widening almost every year (tables 3–5 and 3–6). Once one eliminates these lopsided races, however, the much-vaunted fund-raising advantage of incumbents all but disappears. The real distinction seems not as much to be between incumbents and challengers as between candidates with a serious chance of winning and those without.

Challengers who managed to beat incumbent members of the House spent a great deal of money to do so. It cost Democratic challengers just a bit short of $300,000, on average, to defeat Republican incumbents in 1982, a year when all of the national tides were running in the Democratic party's favor. Successful Democratic challengers in 1980 and successful Republicans in both 1980 and 1982 spent more like $350,000 to win their races. That would have been enough to run a respectable Senate campaign in many states six or eight years before.

Structural shifts in the sources of funds have been just as important as the increase in campaign spending. Small contributors still make up the bread and butter of campaign finance, particularly when one includes small contributions channeled through intermediary organizations. Two kinds of intermediary organizations have become increasingly important in recent years: political parties and political action committees (PACs).

The national committees of the two major political parties modestly increased the proportional importance of their direct contributions to and "441a(d)" expenditures on behalf of congressional candidates in the 1974–1982 period (table 3–7). These overall figures, however, hide some significant party differences. Democratic party committee contributions and expenditures accounted for only 2 percent of the $94.3 million (including party expenditures) raised by 1982 Democratic general election candidates for the House, but Republican committees accounted for 10 percent of the $95.4 million raised by Republican candidates. (For a definition and description of 441a[d] party expenditures, see table 3–10.) The data are even more dramatic for the Senate: Democratic committees contributed or spent only 4

percent of the $64.0 million raised by Democratic general election candidates for the Senate, but Republican committees accounted for 15 percent of their candidates' $62.7 million.

Table 3–8 gives more detailed information about the sources of funds for 1982 House and Senate campaigns. In general, party money means more for Republicans than Democrats, more for Senate than for House candidates, and more for challengers than for incumbents. At one extreme, then, House Democratic incumbents received 38 percent of their money from PACs and only 1 percent from the party. At the other extreme, Senate Republican challengers received 11 percent from PACs and 21 percent from the party. Of course, a full discussion of the role of the national party committees would have to include the millions of additional dollars spent by the Republican party on national advertising, candidate training, polls, state and local party registration, getting out the vote, and more.[1]

PAC money cumulatively outweighed even the Republican party's contributions and 441a(d) expenditures in 1982 House and Senate races. Because of the myriad contradictory influences that these PAC funds represented, however, the party was clearly the single most important factor in the Republican campaign finance picture. Given the present state of Democratic party fund raising, Democratic candidates cannot expect to receive a similar level of assistance from their party for at least several more years. Tables 3–9 and 3–10 detail political party financial activity from 1976 through 1982 (see also figure 3–4).

Political action committee contributions continued to increase in 1982, both absolutely and as a proportion of total campaign funds. PACs accounted for 22 percent of all House funds and 15 percent of all Senate funds in 1976, the first year the campaign laws simplified PAC formation and prohibited individual contributions of more than $1,000. By 1982 the figures were 31 percent for the House and 17 percent for the Senate (table 3–7).

The number of PACs, particularly corporate PACs, has been growing steadily (table 3–11, figure 3–5), as has their financial activity (table 3–12). Labor PACs grew significantly between 1978 and 1982 (tables 3–13 and 3–14), but their rate of growth was dwarfed by both corporate and nonconnected PACs. (The Federal Election Commission's "nonconnected" grouping includes most of the ideological and single-issue PACs.) Labor and corporate contributions grew in proportion to their expenditures. A comparison of contributions (table 3–14) with expenditures (table 3–13) for nonconnected groups, however, makes their independent spending strategy and direct-mail fund-raising costs stand out clearly.

Tables 3–15 through 3–21 detail PAC contributions to candidates, by type of PAC and candidates' status as incumbents, challengers, or contestants for open seats. The last six of these tables also give the percentage of candidates in each category. These percentages can be used as a base line for comparisons, because they show how funds would be distributed if they were contributed randomly. Deviations from random distribution can then be used as a basis for making inferences about the political strategy of a giver (or a group of givers).

Compare, for example, the contributions given to Republican challengers by corporations in two different elections. In 1977–1978 House and Senate races (tables 3–16 and 3–19) and in 1979–1980 House races (table 3–17), corporate committees were cautious, giving Republican challengers only about as much as one might expect from a random distribution. The picture was different in 1979–1980 Senate races, however, as corporate PACs gave heavily to unseat Democratic incumbents (table 3–20). Labor committees, in contrast, were much more worried about protecting Senate incumbents in 1979–1980 than they were in the 1977–1978 Senate races.

Tables 3–22 through 3–26, new to this edition of *Vital Statistics on Congress*, first appeared in *Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s*.[2] Tables 3–22 and 3–23 give more detailed information about the sources of funds for 1982 House and Senate candidates. Tables 3–24, 3–25, and 3–26 use press release information from the Federal Election Commission to draw some inferences about the timing of PAC and non-PAC contributions to congressional campaigns over the course of three two-year election cycles. These tables show that although PACs tend to concentrate on incumbents for the first eighteen months of a cycle, they do hold substantial portions of their funds in reserve for late gifts to nonincumbents. This finding confirms what was revealed in our earlier tables dividing incumbents and challengers by the final vote margin: statements about incumbents and challengers may cover several different phenomena under a single, overly broad pair of headings.

The final table (3–27) breaks down independent expenditures. According to the Supreme Court's 1976 decision in *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, the First Amendment prohibits Congress from infringing a person's right to spend unlimited amounts of money on behalf of or in opposition to a candidate, as long as the expenditures are truly independent. (For a full definition of "independent," see the note to table 3–27.) Lower federal courts have consistently held that the Supreme Court's ruling applied to expenditures made by political committees as well as to those made by individuals. The Supreme Court affirmed one such lower court opinion in 1982 with a 4–4 per curiam decision (*Common*

Cause v. *Schmitt*, 455 U.S. 129). A more recent test case that may result in a more definitive ruling will probably be decided after the 1984 election (*Democratic Party and Mezvinsky* v. *National Conservative Political Action Committee*, Docket No. 83–1122 and *Federal Election Commission* v. *National Conservative Political Action Committee*, Docket No. 83–1032).

As table 3–27 makes clear, positive and negative independent expenditures have grown in every election for both Democrats and Republicans in both Senate and House elections. If the Supreme Court continues to rule as it has so far, there is no reason to expect these numbers to stop growing. Thus, whatever Congress may decide about limiting campaign contributions or expenditures by candidates, individuals and well-organized groups can still find plenty of ways to spend unlimited amounts of money on politics, if they know how to do it.

---

1. See David Adamany, "Political Parties in the 1980s," in Michael J. Malbin, ed., *Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s* (American Enterprise Institute/Chatham House, 1984), chap. 3.
2. Michael J. Malbin and Thomas W. Skladony, "Appendix: Selected Campaign Finance Data, 1974–82," in Malbin, *Money and Politics*, pp. 277–311.

TABLE 2-17

Party-Line Voting in Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1956–1982

(as a percentage of all voters)

Year	*Presidential Elections*			*Senate Elections*			*House Elections*		
	Party-line voters[a]	Defectors[b]	Pure independents[c]	Party-line voters[a]	Defectors[b]	Pure independents[c]	Party-line voters[a]	Defectors[b]	Pure independents[c]
1956	76	15	9	79	12	9	82	9	9
1958				85	9	5	84	11	5
1960	79	13	8	77	15	8	80	12	8
1962				n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	83	12	6
1964	79	15	5	78	16	6	79	15	5
1966				n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	76	16	8
1968	69	23	9	74	19	7	74	19	7

1970				78	12	10	76	16	8
1972	67	25	8	69	22	9	75	17	8
1974				73	19	8	74	18	8
1976	74	15	11	70	19	11	72	19	9
1978				71	20	9	69	22	9
1980	70	22	8	71	21	8	69	23	8
1982	—	—	—	77	17	6	76	17	6

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

a. Party identifiers who vote for the candidate of their party.

b. Party identifiers who vote for the candidate of the other party.

c. The SRC/CPS National Election Surveys use a seven-point scale to define party identification, including three categories of independents—those who "lean" to one or the other party and those who are "pure" independents. The "leaners" are included here among the party-line voters. Party identification here means self-identification as determined by surveys.

SOURCES: Tabulated from SRC/CPS *National Election Studies, 1956–1982*, by Thomas E. Mann and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Candidates and Parties in Congressional Elections," *American Political Science Review* (September 1980); Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982); and by Peverill Squire, of the University of California State Data Program.

TABLE 3-1

HOUSE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES, 1974–1982

(net dollars)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
All candidates					
Total expenditures	44,051,125	60,046,006	86,129,169	115,222,222	174,921,844
Mean expenditure	53,384 (N = 810)	73,316 (N = 819)	109,440 (N = 787)	153,221 (N = 752)	228,060 (N = 767)
Mean, Democrats	53,993 (N = 434)	74,563 (N = 429)	108,986 (N = 416)	143,277 (N = 396)	213,369 (N = 411)
Mean, Republicans	54,835 (N = 376)	71,945 (N = 390)	109,995 (N = 371)	164,282 (N = 356)	245,020 (N = 356)
Incumbents					
Mean, all incumbents	56,539 (N = 382)	79,398 (N = 382)	111,159 (N = 377)	165,081 (N = 391)	265,001 (N = 383)
Mean, Democrats	38,743 (N = 218)	73,322 (N = 254)	103,519 (N = 249)	158,010 (N = 248)	247,573 (N = 216)
Mean, Republicans	80,339 (N = 163)	91,456 (N = 128)	126,022 (N = 128)	177,345 (N = 143)	287,543 (N = 167)
Challengers					
Mean, all challengers	40,015 (N = 323)	50,795 (N = 335)	74,802 (N = 299)	121,751 (N = 277)	151,717 (N = 270)

(*Table continues*)

TABLE 3-2

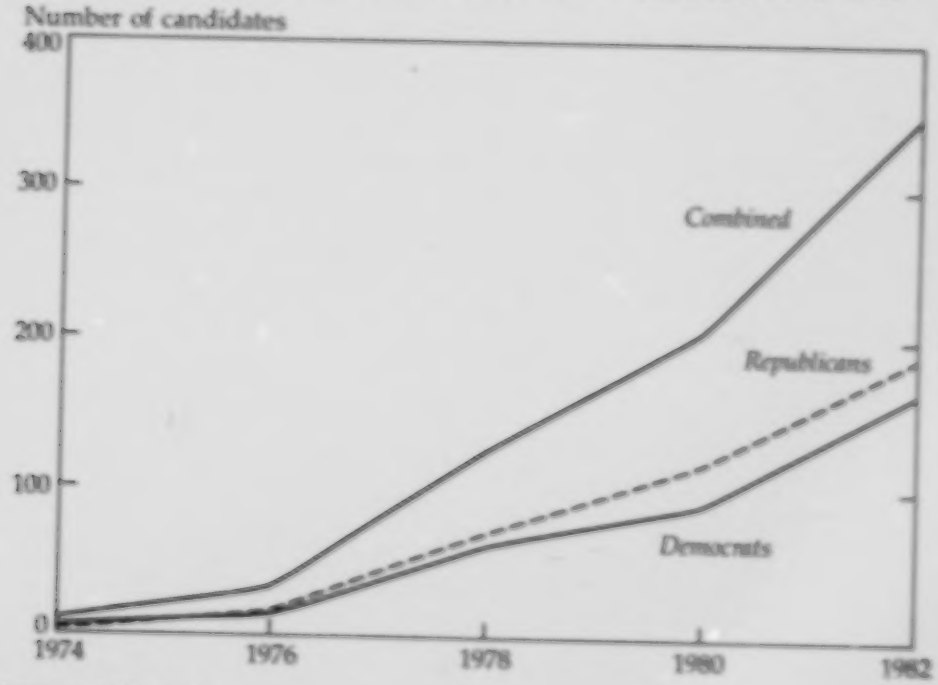
HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO SPENT MORE THAN $200,000, 1974–1982

Election	*Democratic*	*Republican*	*Total*
1974	6	4	10
1976	15	16	31
1978	60	68	128
1980	91	114	205
1982	170	183	353

SOURCES: Same as table 3-1.

FIGURE 3-1

HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO SPENT MORE THAN $200,000, 1974–1982



SOURCE: Table 3-2.

TABLE 3–3

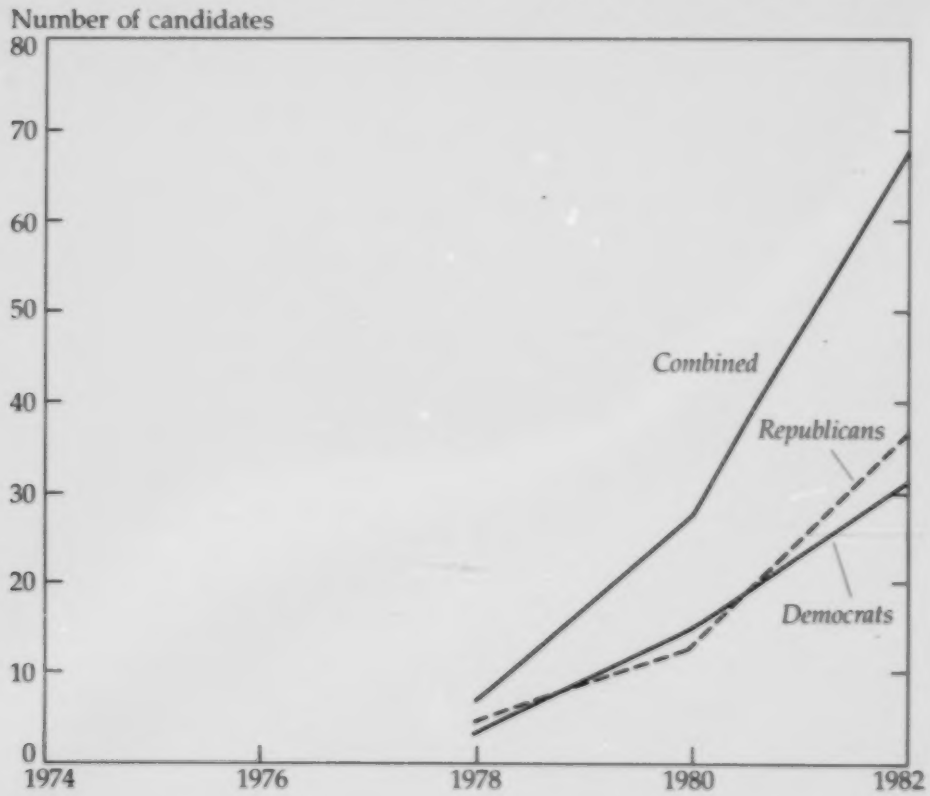
HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO SPENT MORE THAN $500,000, 1974–1982

Election	*Democratic*	*Republican*	*Total*
1974	—	—	—
1976	—	—	—
1978	3	4	7
1980	15	13	28
1982	31	36	67

SOURCES: Same as table 3–1.

FIGURE 3–2

HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO SPENT MORE THAN $500,000, 1974–1982



SOURCE: Table 3–3.

TABLE 3-1 (continued)

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
Mean, Democrats	59,266 (N = 162)	46,330 (N = 122)	70,948 (N = 109)	93,313 (N = 105)	141,390 (N = 137)
Mean, Republicans	20,644 (N = 161)	53,352 (N = 213)	77,012 (N = 190)	139,111 (N = 172)	162,354 (N = 133)
Open seats					
Mean, all open-seat candidates	90,426 (N = 106)	124,506 (N = 102)	201,049 (N = 111)	201,790 (N = 84)	284,476 (N = 114)
Mean, Democrats	99,743 (N = 54)	145,497 (N = 53)	211,871 (N = 58)	180,312 (N = 43)	256,004 (N = 58)
Mean, Republicans	80,751 (N = 52)	101,802 (N = 49)	189,205 (N = 53)	224,116 (N = 41)	314,547 (N = 56)

NOTE: Includes primary and general election expenditures for general election candidates who filed reports with the Federal Election Commission. The 1979 amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act exempted low-budget (under $5,000) campaigns from reporting requirements. A number of low-budget candidates who did file reports are included in the table. Because of these amendments, however, the data for 1980 and 1982 are not strictly comparable with those for previous years.

SOURCES: Compiled from the following sources: For 1974, Common Cause, *1974 Congressional Campaign Finances*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1976). For 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 9* (House of Representatives Campaigns), September 1977. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (U.S. House and Senate Campaigns), January 1982. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Interim Report No. 3* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), May 1983.

TABLE 3–4

SENATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES, 1974–1982

(net dollars)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
All candidates					
Total expenditures	28,436,308	38,108,745	64,695,510	74,163,669	114,036,379
Mean expenditure	437,482 (N = 65)	595,449[a] (N = 64)	951,405 (N = 68)	1,106,920 (N = 67)	1,781,815 (N = 64)
Mean, Democrats	487,775 (N = 34)	569,902 (N = 33)	762,831 (N = 35)	1,170,580 (N = 34)	1,881,379[b] (N = 32)
Mean, Republicans	382,343 (N = 31)	616,635 (N = 30)	1,151,407 (N = 33)	1,041,332 (N = 33)	1,682,252[b] (N = 32)
Incumbents					
Mean, all incumbents	555,714 (N = 25)	623,809[a] (N = 25)	1,341,942[c] (N = 22)	1,301,692 (N = 25)	1,858,140 (N = 29)
Mean, Democrats	525,766 (N = 15)	503,111 (N = 17)	618,211[d] (N = 11)	1,355,660[e] (N = 19)	1,696,226[b] (N = 18)
Mean, Republicans	600,636 (N = 10)	891,342 (N = 7)	2,065,674[c] (N = 11)	1,130,792 (N = 6)	2,123,089 (N = 11)
Challengers					
Mean, all challengers	332,579 (N = 22)	452,275 (N = 23)	697,766 (N = 21)	842,547 (N = 24)	1,217,034 (N = 29)

(Table continues)

TABLE 3–4 (continued)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Mean, Democrats	390,297 (N = 10)	645,441 (N = 8)	830,282 (N = 11)	557,006 (N = 6)	1,516,015 (N = 11)
Mean, Republicans	284,480 (N = 12)	349,253 (N = 15)	551,999 (N = 10)	937,727 (N = 18)	1,034,324[b] (N = 18)
Open seats					
Mean, all open-seat candidates	401,484 (N = 18)	756,951 (N = 16)	820,787 (N = 25)	1,132,560 (N = 18)	4,142,687 (N = 6)
Mean, Democrats	532,691 (N = 9)	636,295 (N = 8)	828,127 (N = 13)	1,188,903 (N = 9)	4,331,959 (N = 3)
Mean, Republicans	270,277 (N = 9)	877,606 (N = 8)	812,835 (N = 12)	1,076,218 (N = 9)	3,953,415 (N = 3)

NOTE: Includes primary and general election expenditures for general election candidates only.

a. Includes one incumbent independent, Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, $802,928.

b. Two candidates did not file reports with the FEC in 1982: incumbent William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and challenger Clarence J. Brown (R-Hawaii).

c. These figures include the $7.5 million Helms reelection campaign in North Carolina. Without it the Republican mean would be $1,526,145, and the mean for all incumbents would be $1,050,560.

d. Includes incumbent J. Bennett Johnston (D-La., $857,860), who was unopposed in the general election but faced a primary challenger who spent $327,340.

e. Includes incumbent Russell B. Long (D-La., $2,166,838), who was unopposed in the general election but faced a primary challenger who spent $142,368.

SOURCES: Compiled from the following sources: For 1974, Common Cause, *1974 Congressional Campaign Finances*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1976). For 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 6* (Senatorial Campaigns), September 1977. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Interim Report No. 3* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), May 1983.

TABLE 3-5

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES OF HOUSE INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS, BY ELECTION OUTCOME, 1974–1982
(mean net dollars)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Incumbent won with 60% or more[a]					
Democratic incumbent	35,146 (N = 194)	56,937 (N = 185)	85,424 (N = 184)	117,773[b] (N = 170)	206,670 (N = 178)
Republican challenger	12,481 (N = 137)	24,865 (N = 144)	32,850 (N = 125)	50,213 (N = 95)	110,454 (N = 101)
Republican incumbent	60,593 (N = 57)	77,855 (N = 87)	105,687 (N = 103)	138,050 (N = 114)	186,717 (N = 86)
Democratic challenger	25,891 (N = 56)	26,606 (N = 81)	36,040 (N = 84)	44,120 (N = 75)	36,628 (N = 62)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[c]	32,023 (N = 192)	42,968 (N = 226)	68,031 (N = 209)	101,021 (N = 170)	143,277 (N = 163)
Incumbent won with less than 60%					
Democratic incumbent	68,513 (N = 20)	119,440 (N = 62)	145,065 (N = 51)	223,345 (N = 50)	446,542[d] (N = 35)

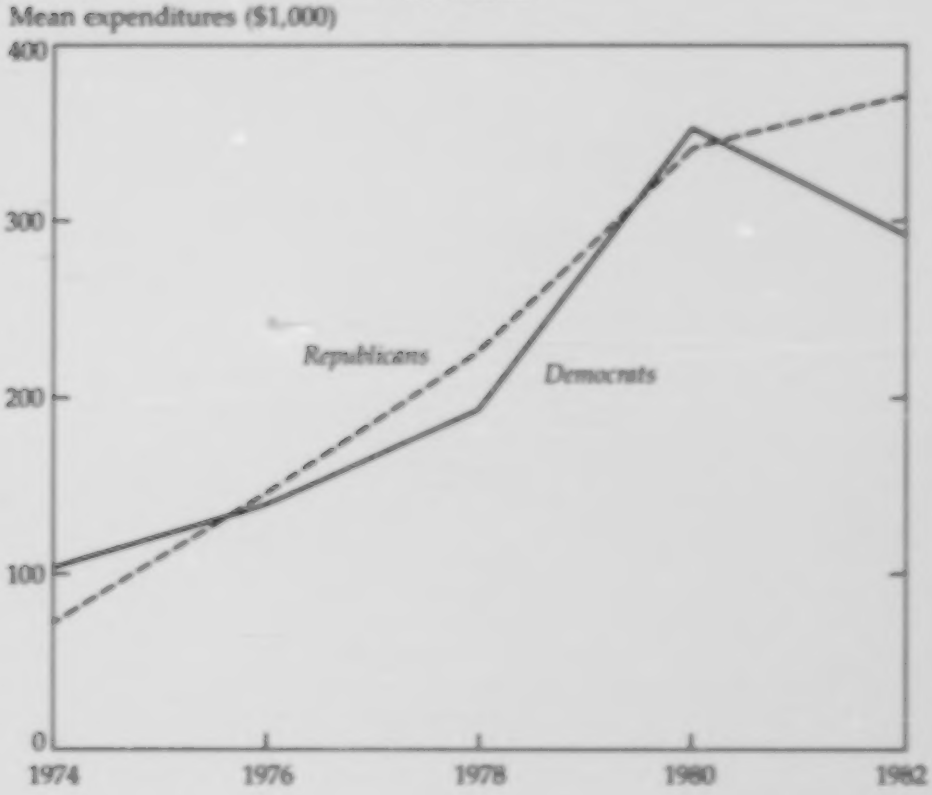
(Table continues)

TABLE 3–5 (continued)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Republican incumbent	83,632 (N = 70)	104,465 (N = 36)	204,674 (N = 20)	336,046 (N = 26)	361,295[d] (N = 55)
Democratic challenger	63,134 (N = 70)	77,075 (N = 36)	187,290 (N = 20)	195,135 (N = 26)	182,232[d] (N = 53)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[c]	16,747 (N = 90)	16,616 (N = 98)	5,412 (N = 71)	64,402 (N = 76)	144,951 (N = 84)
Incumbent was defeated					
Democratic incumbent	64,191 (N = 4)	97,874 (N = 7)	189,994 (N = 14)	285,636 (N = 28)	353,201[d] (N = 3)

FIGURE 3-3

EXPENDITURES OF HOUSE CHALLENGERS WHO BEAT INCUMBENTS, 1974–1982



SOURCE: Table 3-5.

TABLE 3–7

FUNDING SOURCES FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES IN GENERAL ELECTIONS, BY PARTY, 1974–1982

	Amount Raised by Candidates and Party Expenditures on Behalf of Candidates ($ millions)[a]	*Percentage Distribution*			
		Non-party PACs	Party (contributions plus 441a[d] expenditures)[a]	Individual contributions, $500+	Other (individuals to $500, candidate to self, unrepaid loans)[b]
		House			
1974[c]					
All candidates	$45.7	17	4	15	64
Democrats	23.9	22	1	16	61
Republicans	21.7	10	7	15	68
1976					
All candidates[d]	66.1	22	8	11	59
Democrats	35.1	27	4	11	58
Republicans	30.5	17	13	11	59
1978[e]					
All candidates[d]	93.6	24	7	12	57
Democrats	48.7	27	3	13	57
Republicans	44.2	22	11	12	55
1980[e]					
All candidates[d]	127.1	28	6	15	51
Democrats	61.4	32	2	17	49
Republicans	64.6	25	9	13	53
1982[e]					
All candidates[d]	189.8	31	6	15	48
Democrats	94.3	34	2	15	49
Republicans	95.4	27	10	16	47
		Senate			
1974[c]					
All candidates	$28.2	11	6	27	56
Democrats	16.2	13	2	27	58
Republicans	11.6	7	13	28	52
1976					
All candidates[d]	39.2	15	4	27	54
Democrats	19.5	19	2	32	47
Republicans	18.8	11	6	22	61

TABLE 3-7 (continued)

1978[e]					
All candidates[d]	68.9	13	6	21	60
Democrats	27.8	14	3	27	56
Republicans	40.6	12	8	17	63
1980[e]					
All candidates[d]	83.5	19	9	24	48
Democrats	42.0	18	4	27	51
Republicans	41.2	21	15	21	43
1982[e]					
All candidates[d]	127.0	17	10	24	49
Democrats	64.0	17	4	26	53
Republicans	62.7	17	15	22	46

a. The "amount raised" column includes the sum of what general election candidates raised from January 1 of the odd-numbered year preceding an election through December 31 of the election year plus 441a(d) party expenditures on behalf of those candidates. The 441a(d) expenditures for each year are given in table 3-10.
b. "Other" includes contributions from individuals of less than $500, contributions from the candidate to himself or herself, unrepaid loans, and, for the 1974 Senate races, some funds whose sources were not identified. Because of confusion over unrepaid loans, the FEC says that it cannot specify loan amounts or candidate self-financing and that its numbers from 1976 and 1978 are unreliable. This also affects the data for small individual contributions, many of which need not be reported individually because those figures had been derived by subtracting all other categories from the total.
c. The figures for 1974 are only for candidates who were opposed in the general election.
d. Includes minor-party candidates.
e. Louisiana instituted a two-step election process in 1978 in which candidates of all parties run against one another in a September primary. If no candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote at that time, the top two candidates run against each other in November. In these data candidates in a September Louisiana primary are considered "general election candidates" when the September balloting produces a clear winner with more than half the total vote.

SOURCES: Compiled from the following sources: For 1974, Gary C. Jacobson, *Money in Congressional Elections* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), chap. 3. For 1976, Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 4* (National Party Committees), *No. 6* (Senate Campaigns), and *No. 9* (House Campaigns), September 1977. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977-78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979, pp. 31-32. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979-80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, pp. 49-50. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, pp. 33-34.

Republican challenger	71,404 (N = 4)	144,883 (N = 7)	226,028 (N = 14)	341,499 (N = 27)	373,093[d] (N = 1)
Republican incumbent	105,203 (N = 36)	234,435 (N = 5)	230,323 (N = 5)	295,170 (N = 3)	465,027[d] (N = 26)
Democratic challenger	103,661 (N = 36)	144,491 (N = 5)	192,037 (N = 5)	353,855 (N = 4)	292,781[d] (N = 22)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[c]	1,185 (N = 40)	10,055 (N = 12)	−16,476 (N = 19)	−56,537 (N = 31)	123,361 (N = 23)

a. Percentage of the vote received by the two leading candidates.

b. For reasons explained in the note to table 3-1, a number of nonfiling candidates with low-budget campaigns are not included.

c. Includes only races contested in the general election, both candidates filing.

d. The number of challengers does not equal that of incumbents because of six incumbent-incumbent races in 1982 due to redistricting. The mean expenditure for Democrats in these races was $585,205; for Republicans, $592,080. The mean expenditure for winners (four Democrats, two Republicans) was $600,337; for losers, $583,824.

SOURCES: Same as table 3-1.

TABLE 3-6

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES OF SENATE INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS, BY ELECTION OUTCOME, 1974–1982
(in mean net dollars)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Incumbent won with 60% or more[a]					
Democratic incumbent	447,234 (N = 11)	340,362 (N = 11)	559,046[b] (N = 4)	1,220,616[c] (N = 6)	1,401,794 (N = 12)
Republican challenger	222,955 (N = 8)	171,997 (N = 9)	56,233 (N = 3)	332,404 (N = 5)	807,276 (N = 12)
Republican incumbent	—	—	318,749 (N = 3)	1,075,038 (N = 4)	2,607,983 (N = 1)
Democratic challenger	—	—	38,458 (N = 3)	265,822 (N = 4)	424,507 (N = 1)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[d]	299,321 (N = 8)	220,202 (N = 9)	341,750 (N = 6)	747,967 (N = 9)	739,686 (N = 12)
Incumbent won with less than 60%					
Democratic incumbent	741,729 (N = 4)	1,237,910 (N = 1)	586,055 (N = 2)	796,984 (N = 4)	2,417,100 (N = 5)

(Table continues)

TABLE 3–6 (continued)

	1974	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Republican challenger	407,531 (N = 4)	665,058 (N = 1)	332,537 (N = 2)	727,617 (N = 4)	1,589,864 (N = 5)
Republican incumbent	497,945 (N = 10)	320,239 (N = 4)	3,133,293[e] (N = 6)	1,242,300 (N = 2)	2,117,088 (N = 9)
Democratic challenger	254,374 (N = 10)	282,441 (N = 4)	1,212,929 (N = 6)	1,139,376 (N = 2)	1,629,490 (N = 9)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[d]	314,376 (N = 14)	241,346[f] (N = 5)	1,503,653[g] (N = 8)	80,553 (N = 6)	608,897 (N = 14)
Incumbent was defeated					
Democratic incumbent	—	714,201 (N = 5)	678,406 (N = 5)	1,693,991 (N = 9)	1,625,042 (N = 1)

Republican challenger	—	605,153 (N = 5)	937,244 (N = 5)	1,367,400 (N = 9)	981,197 (N = 1)
Republican incumbent	513,456 (N = 2)	1,319,440 (N = 4)	1,483,203 (N = 2)	—	1,692,204 (N = 1)
Democratic challenger	679,614 (N = 2)	1,008,440 (N = 4)	870,079 (N = 2)	—	1,586,245 (N = 1)
Difference between incumbents and challengers[d]	−166,158 (N = 2)	198,906 (N = 9)	−9,706 (N = 7)	326,591 (N = 9)	374,902 (N = 2)

a. Percentage of the vote received by the two leading candidates.
b. Includes incumbent J. Bennett Johnston (D-La., $857,860), who was unopposed in the general election but faced a primary challenger who spent $327,340.
c. Includes incumbent Russell B. Long (D-La., $2,166,838), who was unopposed in the general election but faced a primary challenger who spent $142,368.
d. Includes only races contested in the general election, both candidates filing.
e. If one excludes the 1978 race between Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina and his challenger, John Ingram, this figure becomes $2,267,758.
f. 1976 Senate incumbents who won with less than 60 percent included one independent, Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, who spent $802,928.
g. If the Helms-Ingram race is excluded, this figure becomes $690,335.

SOURCES: Same as table 3–4.

TABLE 3–8

CAMPAIGN FUNDING SOURCES FOR GENERAL ELECTION CANDIDATES IN HOUSE AND SENATE ELECTIONS, 1982

Party and Candidate Status	*Number of Candidates*	*Amount Raised by Candidates plus Party Expenditures on Behalf of Candidates ($ millions)*	*Percentage Distribution*							
			Total party contributions plus 441a(d) expenditures	Total PAC contributions	Corporate PAC	Labor PAC	Trade/ membership/ health PAC	Nonconnected PAC	Co-op and corp. w/o stock PAC	Individuals, candidate to self, and other
					House					
All candidates[a]	830	$191.0	6.1	30.2	9.5	7.6	8.3	3.6	1.3	63.7
Democrats	435	94.6	1.8	33.9	6.9	14.6	7.0	3.8	1.3	64.3
Incumbents	218	59.1	1.1	37.6	9.9	13.1	9.1	3.3	2.1	61.3
Challengers	166	21.7	3.7	27.8	0.8	18.7	2.7	5.0	0.5	68.5
Open seats	51	13.9	2.0	27.6	3.5	14.9	4.3	4.0	1.0	70.4

TABLE 3–9
Political Party Financial Activity, 1976–1982
(in dollars)

	Adjusted receipts	*Adjusted Disbursements*	*Contributions to Presidential, Senate, and House Candidates*	*Expenditures for Presidential, Senate, and House Candidates*
		1976		
Democratic				
National committee	13,095,630	12,516,979	22,050	3,055,644
Senatorial	1,017,454	971,562	375,237	4,359
Congressional	937,717	1,011,157	423,200	500
Conventions, other national	3,164,573	3,062,675	0	0
State/local	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Total Democratic	18,215,374	17,562,373	820,487	3,060,503
Republican				
National committee	29,118,930	26,679,143	1,871,726	1,442,773
Senatorial	1,774,815	2,010,629	445,902	113,976
Congressional	12,207,055	9,243,195	2,071,525	329,853
Conventions, other national	2,605,088	2,143,220	11,343	0
State/local	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Total Republican	45,705,888	40,076,187	4,400,496	1,886,602
		1978		
Democratic				
National committee	11,314,008	11,455,639	64,307	68,822
Senatorial	269,981	893,773	427,000	0
Congressional	2,766,963	2,118,161	537,438	0
Conventions, other national	3,324,519	3,428,481	403,502	0
State/local	8,688,999	8,994,213	433,337	329,765
Total Democratic	26,364,470	26,890,267	1,865,584	398,587
Republican				
National committee	34,221,058	36,016,600	905,244	366,981
Senatorial	10,882,480	11,107,961	456,110	2,599,290
Congressional	14,062,070	15,695,690	1,817,424	839,421
Conventions, other national	4,400,216	2,330,882	598,382	0
State/local	20,960,029	20,728,829	745,191	579,974
Total Republican	84,525,853	85,879,962	4,522,351	4,355,666

TABLE 3-9 (continued)

		1980		
Democratic				
National committee	15,418,300	15,150,984	41,051	3,942,526
Senatorial	1,653,849	1,618,162	481,500	589,316
Congressional	2,864,088	2,828,184	614,097	34,686
Conventions, other national	8,147,837	6,631,517	132,200	0
State/local	9,103,520	8,754,177	384,358	375,660
Total Democratic	37,187,594	34,983,024	1,653,206	4,942,188
Republican				
National committee	77,838,238	75,821,719	844,455	5,352,269
Senatorial	22,308,963	21,211,482	414,893	5,025,802
Congressional	20,287,961	34,790,731	2,005,663	1,229,110
Conventions, other national	6,031,367	6,080,735	482,159	0
State/local	33,781,069	32,545,199	781,207	837,292
Total Republican	161,247,598	170,449,866	4,528,377	12,444,473
		1982		
Democratic				
National committee	16,466,029	16,547,601	124,574	144,742
Senatorial	5,622,254	5,568,352	530,000	1,877,245
Congressional	6,525,419	6,461,703	563,105	197,936
Conventions, other national	3,086,023	3,838,556	0	0
State/local	7,567,985	7,731,834	546,290	1,081,674
Total Democratic	39,267,710	40,148,146	1,763,969	3,301,597
Republican				
National committee	84,140,281	85,113,252	1,700,178	232,964
Senatorial	48,879,354	47,680,853	558,327	8,707,537
Congressional	58,041,972	57,041,301	2,554,924	4,943,249
Conventions, other national	2,967	87,246	0	0
State/local	23,984,934	24,099,337	812,787	401,213
Total Republican	215,049,508	214,021,989	5,626,216	14,284,983

n.a. = not available.

SOURCES: For 1976, compiled from Federal Election Commission, *Disclosure Series No. 4* (National Party Political Committees: Receipts and Expenditures), November 1977, pp. 5–40. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, p. 101. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January, 1982, p. 61. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, p. 55.

TABLE 3–10

PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS AND COORDINATED EXPENDITURES, BY OFFICE AND PARTY, 1976–1982

(in dollars)

	Senate		*House*	
	Contributions	Expenditures	Contributions	Expenditures
1976				
Democrats	468,795	4,359	1,465,629	500
Republicans	930,034	113,976	3,658,310	329,583
1978				
Democrats	466,683	229,218	1,262,298	72,892
Republicans	703,204	2,723,880	3,621,104	1,297,079
1980				
Democrats	480,464	1,132,912	1,025,989	256,346
Republicans	677,004	5,434,758	3,498,323	2,203,748
1982				
Democrats	579,337	2,265,197	1,052,286	694,321
Republicans	600,221	8,715,761	4,720,959	5,293,260

NOTE: The table includes direct contributions made by party committees to congressional candidates and coordinated expenditures made on their behalf, known as 441a(d) expenditures because the legal spending limits are contained in U.S. Code, Title 2, sec. 441a(d). Under this provision, party committees are allowed to spend money on behalf of federal candidates, in addition to the money they may contribute directly. Unlike "independent expenditures," which are prohibited to the parties (see table 3–27 for a definition), this spending may be coordinated with a candidate.

House candidates may receive up to $5,000 from a national party committee and another $5,000 from a state or local party committee in direct contributions for each election the candidate contests. In a normal cycle, including one primary and one general election, the limit is $10,000. Senate candidates may receive up to $17,500 for a full election cycle in direct contributions from their party committees.

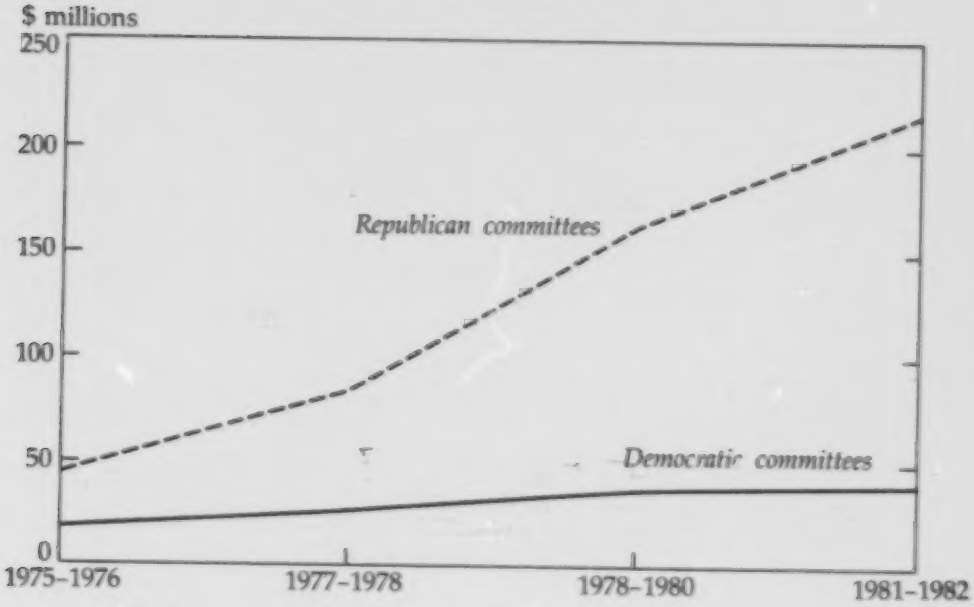
The limits on 441a(d) expenditures are as follows: (a) for Senate candidates and for House candidates from states with only one House district, two 1975 cents times the voting age population, or $20,000 in 1975 dollars adjusted for inflation, whichever is greater; (b) for all other House candidates, $10,000 in 1975 dollars adjusted for inflation. State parties are allowed to spend equal amounts on behalf of congressional candidates, and court decisions permit state and local parties to designate a national party committee as its agent for these expenditures.

Combining state and national party contribution and 441a(d) expenditure limits, the maximum amount a House candidate could receive from party committees in 1982 was $66,880. Senate limits ranged from a low of $101,260 to a high of $1,399,248, in California.

SOURCES: Same as table 3–7.

FIGURE 3-4

Political Party Receipts, 1975–1982



Source: Table 3-9.

TABLE 3–11

Number of Registered Political Action Committees, 1974–1982

Committee Type	*1974*	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Corporate	89	433	784	1204	1467
Labor	201	224	217	297	380
Trade/membership/ health[a]	318	489	451	574	628
Nonconnected	—	—	165	378	746
Cooperative	—	—	12	42	47
Corporation without stock	—	—	24	56	103
Total	608	1146	1653	2551	3371

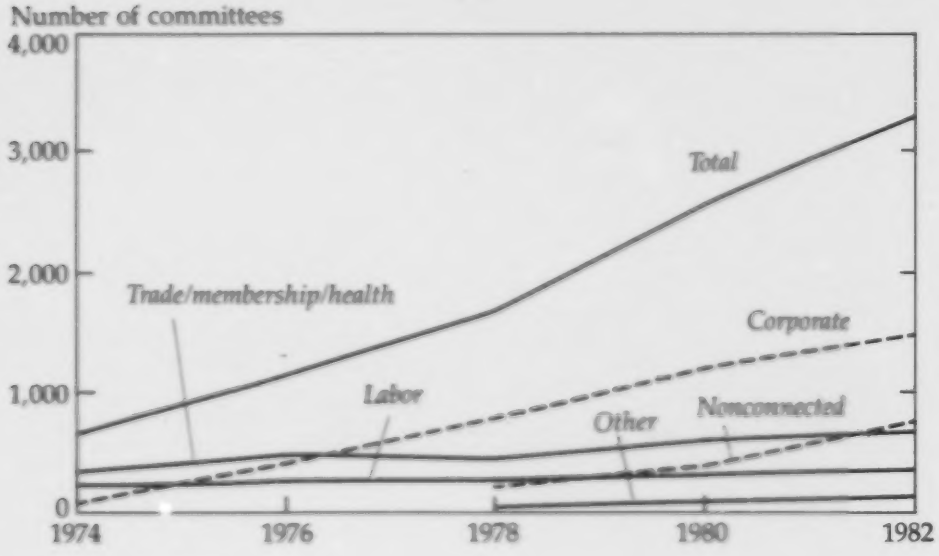
Note: Data as of December 31 for every year except 1975 (November 24).

a. Includes all noncorporate and nonlabor PACs through December 31, 1976.

Source: "PACs Increase in Numbers," Federal Election Commission press release, January 14, 1983.

FIGURE 3–5

Growth of Nonparty Political Action Committees, 1974–1982



Source: Table 3–11.

TABLE 3-12

FINANCIAL ACTIVITY OF POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, 1972–1982
(in dollars)

Election Cycle[a]	*Adjusted Receipts*[b]	*Adjusted Expenditures*[b]	*Contributions to Congressional Candidates*
1972	n.a.	19,168,000	8,500,000[c]
1974	n.a.	25,000,000[d]	12,526,586
1976	54,045,588	52,894,630	22,571,912
1978	79,956,291	77,412,860	34,121,356[e]
1980	137,728,528	131,153,384	55,217,211[e]
1982	199,452,356	190,173,539	83,620,190[e]

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: All data are for full election cycle.

a. The periods covered by the election cycles vary. Data for 1972 are limited for the period before April 7, 1972, the effective date for disclosure under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Until then, campaign finance disclosure was governed by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, under which much activity went unreported. Data for 1974 cover September 1, 1973, to December 31, 1974. Data for 1976 and for subsequent years cover January 1 of the odd-numbered year to December 31 of the even-numbered year.

b. Adjusted receipts and expenditures exclude funds transferred between affiliated committees.

c. Excludes contributions to candidates defeated in primaries.

d. This is a rough estimate and does not correspond to the total in table 3-13, which was thought to be too low.

e. Contributions to candidates for election in the year indicated, made during the two-year election cycle.

SOURCES: For data on receipts and expenditures, see the sources listed for table 3-13. For data on contributions, see the sources listed for table 3-14.

TABLE 3–13

ADJUSTED EXPENDITURES OF POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, BY CATEGORY, 1972–1982

(in millions of dollars)

Type of PAC	*1972*	*1974*[a]	*1976*	*1978*	*1980*	*1982*
Labor	8.5	11.0	17.5	18.6	25.1	34.8
Business-related[b]	8.0	8.1	—	—	—	—
Corporate	[c]	[c]	5.8	15.2	31.4	43.3
Trade/membership/ health	[c]	[c]	[d]	23.8	32.0	41.9
Nonconnected[e]	2.6	0.8	[d]	17.4	38.6	64.3
Other[f]	—	1.1	29.6	2.4	4.0	5.8
Total	19.2	20.9	52.9	77.4	131.2	190.2

NOTE: Adjusted expenditures exclude transfers of funds between affiliated committees. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

a. Data for 1974 do not correspond with those in table 3–12, which reflects an estimated amount, because the data in this table were thought to be low.

b. This category is based on a large assumption that the majority of PACs it encompasses do indeed have a basically probusiness orientation. It is included here for the purpose of listing the data for 1972 and 1974, before the specific breakdowns were devised by the FEC for the corporate and other categories, and it is only roughly comparable to the combined corporate and trade/membership/health data in 1978–1982. For 1972 it includes PACs listed by the Citizens' Research Foundation as business/professional, dairy, education, health, and rural; for 1974 it includes those PACs grouped by Common Cause under the headings of business/professional, health, and agriculture/dairy. Most of these PACs would today fall into the corporate and trade/membership/health categories used by the FEC, although some would be scattered in the nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation-without-stock categories.

c. Included in business-related.

d. Included in other.

e. For 1972 and 1974 this reflects spending by ideological PACs, as grouped by the Citizens' Research Foundation (1972) or Common Cause (1974). After 1976 it corresponds directly to the FEC category by that name (which is dominated by the ideological groups).

f. This is a catchall category, for which only the 1978–1982 figures are comparable to one another. For 1974 this includes PACs grouped as "miscellaneous" by Common Cause and includes such groups as the NEA (and affiliates), environmentalists, and some cooperatives. For 1976 it includes all PACs now grouped by the FEC as trade/membership/health, nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation without stock. For 1978–1982, it combines the FEC categories of cooperatives and corporations without stock.

SOURCES: For 1972–1976 and for footnotes, Joseph E. Cantor, *Political Action Committees: Their Evolution and Growth and Their Implications for the Political System*, U.S. Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Report No. 82–92, November 6, 1981, updated May 7, 1982, pp. 83–84. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1,

April 1980, pp. 139–40. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January 1982, pp. 97–98. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, pp. 90–92.

TABLE 3-14

TYPES OF PACS CONTRIBUTING TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES, 1972–1982

(in millions of dollars)

Type of PAC	*1972*	*1974*	*1976*	*1978*[a]	*1980*[a]	*1982*[a]
Labor	3.6	6.3	8.2	9.9	13.2	20.3
Business-related[b]	2.7	4.4	10.0	—	—	—
Corporate	—	—	—	9.5	19.2	27.5
Trade/membership/ health	—	—	—	11.2	15.9	21.9
Nonconnected[c]	—	0.7	1.5	2.5	4.9	10.7
Other[d]	2.2	1.0	2.8	1.0	2.0	3.2
Total	8.5	12.5	22.6	34.1	55.2	83.6

NOTE: Data are for all congressional candidates, except for 1972, where primary losers are excluded. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

a. Contributions to candidates for election in the year indicated, made during the two-year election cycle.

b. This encompasses the Common Cause categories for business, health, and, in 1976, lawyers. This category is included here for the purpose of listing the data for 1972–1976, before the specific breakdowns were devised by the FEC for the corporate and other categories, and it is based on the assumption that the majority of PACs it includes have a basically probusiness orientation. It is only roughly comparable to the combined corporate and trade/membership/health groups in 1978–1982, but most of the business-related PACs would fall into those two FEC categories (some would be scattered in the nonconnected, cooperative, and corporation-without-stock groups).

c. For 1974 and 1976 the nonconnected category, as defined by the FEC, correlates with the ideological group used by Common Cause for those two years. Most of the ideological PACs are today listed in the nonconnected group, which also includes PACs that are not ideological. Thus the data for 1974 and 1976 are not exactly comparable to those for 1978–1982, in view of the different standards applied to the nonconnected and the ideological groups. (Ideological PACs in 1972 were lumped into Common Cause's "miscellaneous" group.)

d. This is a catchall category, in which the earlier figures are only roughly comparable to the later ones. For 1972–1976 the data reflect Common Cause's "miscellaneous" category, which included such groups as the NEA (and affiliates), environmentalists, and some cooperatives, and its agriculture/dairy category. In 1972 Common Cause included the ideological PACs under "miscellaneous," before their separate listing in 1974; thus 1972 includes more types of PACs than the 1974 and 1976 data do. For 1978–1982 the "other" data equate directly with the FEC's cooperatives and corporation-without-stock groups. Thus the data for 1972 are not exactly comparable with those for 1978–1982. The common thread is the inclusion of the major dairy PACs—ADEPT, C-TAPE, and SPACE—in "other" in all six election years.

SOURCES: For 1972–1976, and for footnotes, Cantor, *Political Action Committees*, pp. 87–88. For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Interim Report No. 5* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), June 1979, p. 94. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, p. 127. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, p. 92.

Republicans	395	96.3	10.3	26.5	12.0	0.7	9.6	3.4	1.0	63.2
Incumbents	168	53.3	7.9	33.0	15.3	1.1	12.5	2.5	1.5	59.1
Challengers	176	24.9	14.0	17.0	6.7	0.0	5.1	4.9	0.2	69.0
Open seats	51	18.1	12.1	20.8	9.2	0.4	7.0	3.7	0.4	67.1
				Senate						
All candidates[a]	66	$128.2	9.5	16.9	6.4	3.7	3.8	2.5	0.5	73.6
Democrats	33	64.5	4.4	16.7	3.6	6.9	3.2	2.4	0.6	78.8
Incumbents	19	33.4	4.2	23.5	6.4	8.0	5.4	2.6	1.0	72.3
Challengers	11	17.4	5.2	11.8	0.3	7.5	1.0	2.7	0.3	83.0
Open seats	3	13.6	3.7	6.2	0.8	3.2	0.7	1.4	0.1	90.1
Republicans	33	63.4	14.7	17.2	9.3	0.6	4.3	2.5	0.4	68.1
Incumbents	11	25.9	8.7	24.6	13.1	1.2	7.2	2.5	0.6	66.7
Challengers	19	23.5	21.3	11.4	6.0	0.1	2.1	3.1	0.1	67.3
Open seats	3	14.1	14.8	13.1	7.9	0.2	2.7	1.6	0.6	72.1

a. Includes minor-party candidates.

SOURCE: Compiled from "FEC Releases Data on 1981-1982 Elections," Federal Election Commission Press Release, May 2, 1983. The official *Reports on Financial Activity* cited in table 3-7 do not subdivide incumbents, challengers, and open-seat candidates by party. FEC press releases did not subdivide them before the 1982 election.

TABLE 3–15

TYPES OF PACS CONTRIBUTING TO PRESIDENTIAL, SENATE, AND HOUSE CAMPAIGNS, 1978–1982

Committee Type	1978					1980					1982				
	No. contributing	Contributions ($ millions)				No. contributing	Contributions ($ millions)				No. contributing	Contributions ($ millions)			
		Total	Presidential	Senate	House		Total	Presidential	Senate	House		Total	Presidential	Senate	House
Labor	215	10.3	0.03	2.8	7.4	240	14.2	0.3	4.2	9.7	293	20.9	0.04	5.2	15.7
Corporation	704	9.8	0.01	3.6	6.1	1101	21.6	1.1	7.7	12.7	1317	29.4	0.04	9.9	19.4
Nonconnected	122	2.8	0.001	0.7	2.1	243	5.2	0.1	1.9	3.2	407	11.0	0.01	3.4	7.5
Trade/membership/health	400	11.3	0.001	2.8	8.6	490	17.0	0.3	4.6	12.1	524	22.9	0.01	5.7	17.2
Cooperative	11	0.9	0.009	0.2	0.7	31	1.5	0.04	0.4	1.1	46	2.2	0	0.5	1.7
Corporation without stock	22	0.1	0	0.03	0.1	50	0.7	0.04	0.3	0.4	78	1.1	0.001	0.3	0.8
Total	1474	35.2	0.05	10.1	25.0	2155	60.2	1.8	19.1	39.3	2665	87.6	0.1	25.1	62.4

NOTE: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. The Senate and House figures include contributions made to committees that may not have been those of candidates during the election cycle indicated, such as debt retirement committees or the committees of retiring incumbents. The figures therefore may be higher than those in table 3–14. The number of committees making contributions is lower than the number registered in table 3–11.

SOURCES: For 1978, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, pp. 144–52. For 1980, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, January 1982, pp. 102–10. For 1982, Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, October 1983, pp. 96–105.

TABLE 3-17

Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1979–1980

Committee Type	Amount Contributed (dollars)	Percentage Distribution						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Total
Distribution of candidates[a]	(N = 738)	34	19	13	23	6	5	100
Labor	8,883,834	69	4	16	0	10	0	100
Corporate	11,662,361	36	32	1	20	1	9	100
Nonconnected	2,831,209	21	15	5	41	4	12	98
Trade/membership/ health	11,215,269	39	32	2	17	3	8	100
Cooperative	985,177	59	26	2	3	3	7	100
Corporation without stock	387,740	47	30	2	11	2	7	100
Total	35,965,590	45	24	5	15	4	7	100

Note: General election candidates only. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

a. PACs not connected to other organizations also gave more than 1 percent of their House contributions to challengers who were neither Democrats nor Republicans.

Source: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, pp. 65–66.

TABLE 3-20

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SENATE CANDIDATES, 1979–1980

Committee Type	*Amount Contributed (dollars)*	*Percentage Distribution*						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	Total
Distribution of candidates	(N =66)	27	9	9	27	14	14	100
Labor	3,428,404	65	9	14	1	11	1	100
Corporate	6,445,566	25	14	1	47	2	11	100
Nonconnected	1,690,574	22	6	2	53	2	14	100
Trade/membership/ health	3,816,424	37	17	3	32	5	7	100
Cooperative	325,050	65	11	1	11	6	6	100
Corporation without stock	214,853	40	18	3	27	5	7	100
Total	15,920,871	37	13	4	33	5	8	100

NOTE: General election candidates only. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1979–80, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), January 1982, pp. 63–64.

TABLE 3-22

PAC AND TOTAL RECEIPTS OF HOUSE INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS, BY ELECTION OUTCOME, 1982

	Number of Candidates	*Mean Receipts (dollars)*	*Mean PAC Receipts (dollars)*	*Percentage from PACs*
Incumbent won with 60% or more[a]				
Democratic incumbent	178	235,056	91,105	39
Republican challenger	95	119,099	15,960	13
Republican incumbent	86	216,938	72,387	33
Democratic challenger	57	40,412	9,176	23
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	151	157,431	80,012	—
Incumbent won with less than 60%[a]				
Democratic incumbent	35	453,042	154,547	34
Republican challenger	31	325,664	76,096	23
Republican incumbent	55	364,239	125,840	35
Democratic challenger	53	203,297	52,648	26
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	84	135,589	73,493	—
Incumbent was defeated				
Democratic incumbent	3	349,109	145,142	42
Republican challenger	1	375,519	169,931	45
Republican incumbent	26	469,834	168,301	36
Democratic challenger	22	294,094	100,878	34
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	23	125,568	48,337	—

a. Percentage of the vote received by the two leading candidates.
b. Includes only those races where both major-party candidates filed reports with the FEC. Does not include incumbent/incumbent races caused by redistricting.

SOURCES: Same as table 3-1.

TABLE 3–23

PAC AND TOTAL RECEIPTS OF SENATE INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS, BY ELECTION OUTCOME, 1982

	Number of Candidates	*Mean Receipts (dollars)*	*Mean PAC Receipts (dollars)*	*Percentage from PACs*
Incumbent won with 60% or more[a]				
Democratic incumbent	12	1,504,174	384,346	26
Republican challenger	12	813,003	142,318	18
Republican incumbent	1	2,967,802	585,601	19
Democratic challenger	1	424,948	57,068	13
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	12	848,937	263,896	—
Incumbent won with less than 60%[a]				
Democratic incumbent	5	2,516,831	529,422	21
Republican challenger	5	1,601,017	143,093	9
Republican incumbent	9	2,131,679	576,072	27
Democratic challenger	9	1,636,226	188,482	12
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	14	645,581	387,140	—
Incumbent was defeated				
Democratic incumbent	1	1,642,261	590,415	36
Republican challenger	1	1,025,847	250,010	24
Republican incumbent	1	1,706,963	601,973	35
Democratic challenger	1	1,606,965	308,917	19
Difference between incumbents and challengers[b]	2	358,206	316,731	—

a. Percentage of the vote received by the two leading candidates.
b. Includes only those races where both major-party candidates filed reports with the FEC. See table 3–4, note b.

SOURCES: Same as table 3–4.

TABLE 3–16

Political Action Committee Contributions to House Candidates, 1977–1978

Committee Type	Amount Contributed (dollars)	Percentage Distribution						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Total
Distribution of candidates[a]	(N = 797)	31	17	14	25	7	7	100
Labor	7,462,424	60	3	17	0	19	0	100
Corporate	6,158,069	35	28	2	16	7	12	100
Nonconnected	2,064,062	12	13	4	39	6	25	100
Trade/membership/ health	8,571,697	36	27	2	14	9	12	100
Cooperative	674,698	66	16	2	1	9	6	100
Corporation without stock	95,390	48	13	7	4	17	11	100
Total	25,026,340	42	19	7	12	11	10	100

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

a. General election candidates only. Contribution figures are for all 1978 House candidates, but most went to general election candidates.

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, pp. 149–50.

TABLE 3–18

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSE CANDIDATES, 1981–1982

Committee Type	*Amount Contributed (dollars)*	*Percentage Distribution*						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	Total
Distribution of candidates	(N = 830)	26	20	20	21	6	6	100
Labor	14,557,589	53	4	28	0.1	14	1	100
Corporate	18,136,407	32	45	1	9	3	9	100
Nonconnected	6,886,695	29	19	16	18	8	10	100
Trade/membership/ health	15,901,781	34	42	4	8	4	8	100
Cooperative	1,650,239	52	33	4	1	6	3	100
Corporation without stock	771,847	51	32	5	3	5	4	100
Total	57,904,558	39	30	11	7	7	7	100

NOTE: General election candidates only. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981–82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, pp. 47–48.

TABLE 3-19

Political Action Committee Contributions to Senate Candidates, 1977–1978

Committee Type	Amount Contributed (dollars)	Percentage Distribution						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	Total
Distribution of candidates[a]	(N = 68)	16	16	16	15	19	18	100
Labor	2,831,336	38	9	33	1	20	1	100
Corporate	3,616,388	15	37	6	20	7	15	100
Nonconnected	732,993	10	19	11	37	4	18	100
Trade/membership/ health	2,751,980	19	32	9	17	10	13	100
Cooperative	202,600	22	21	13	10	20	13	100
Corporation without stock	25,578	16	35	7	16	12	15	100
Total	10,160,875	22	26	15	15	11	11	100

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

a. General election candidates only. Contribution figures are for all 1978 Senate candidates, but most went to general election candidates.

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1977–78, Final Report* (Party and Non-Party Political Committees), vol. 1, April 1980, summary tables, pp. 147–48.

TABLE 3-21

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SENATE CANDIDATES, 1981-1982

Committee Type	*Amount Contributed (dollars)*	*Percentage Distribution*						
		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		
		Democrat	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	Total
Distribution of candidates	(N = 66)	29	17	17	29	5	5	100
Labor	4,830,051	56	7	27	0.3	9	1	100
Corporate	8,275,630	26	41	1	17	1	14	100
Nonconnected	3,150,309	28	20	15	23	6	7	100
Trade/membership/ health	4,857,841	37	39	4	10	2	8	100
Cooperative	427,526	52	19	12	2	1	14	100
Corporation without stock	262,140	45	33	3	6	2	11	100
Total	21,803,497	36	29	10	12	4	9	100

NOTE: General election candidates only. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, *Reports on Financial Activity, 1981-82, Final Report* (U.S. Senate and House Campaigns), October 1983, pp. 45-46.

TABLE 3-27

INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES IN HOUSE, SENATE, AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, 1977–1982

(dollars)

Type of Expenditure	*1977–1978*			*1979–1980*			*1981–1982*		
	House	Senate	President	House	Senate	President	House	Senate	President
For Democrats	28,725 (N = 55)	102,508 (N = 13)	4,442 (N = 2)	190,615 (N = 91)	127,381 (N = 24)	123,058 (N = 2)	241,442 (N = 84)	127,451 (N = 25)	568 (N = 1)
Against Democrats	31,034 (N = 7)	36,717 (N = 6)	0	38,023 (N = 32)	1,282,613 (N = 15)	737,796 (N = 3)	862,654 (N = 39)	3,182,986 (N = 28)	1,394 (N = 1)
For Republicans	70,701 (N = 83)	26,065 (N = 22)	1,726 (N = 1)	410,478 (N = 205)	261,678 (N = 58)	12,537,522 (N = 3)	492,404 (N = 164)	298,410 (N = 46)	91,765 (N = 1)
Against Republicans	5,298 (N = 5)	1,915 (N = 5)	0	45,132 (N = 6)	12,430 (N = 5)	65,040 (N = 2)	66,296 (N = 14)	483,750 (N = 9)	0
Total[a]	143,162 (N = 164)	168,125 (N = 48)	6,168 (N = 3)	684,727 (N = 321)	1,684,102 (N = 89)	13,746,444 (N = 15)	1,662,796 (N = 276)	4,092,597 (N= 90)	93,727 (N = 2)

NOTE: An independent expenditure is defined as an "expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of such candidate" (11 C.F.R. 109.1[a]).

The Federal Election Commission's data on 1975–1976 independent expenditures were not completed or verified. On October 9, 1980, the FEC released the following information about independent expenditures during the 1975–1976 election cycle: $2,033,207 was spent independently for or against 144 candidates; $1,646,540 was spent for or against presidential candidates; $198,787 was spent for or against Senate candidates; $187,880 was spent for or against House candidates.

(Notes continue)

4
Committees

This chapter provides information on House and Senate committees and chairmanships from 1955 to 1984. Tables 4–1 to 4–3 chart the ebb and flow in the number of committees and subcommittees in the House and Senate. It should be noted that the number of subcommittees in a given Congress is a particularly nebulous figure. During any Congress, subcommittees are added or disappear, and some ad hoc or special units may be listed or omitted from the various directories. At least two sources were consulted for each Congress to obtain the number of subcommittees.

Tables 4–1 and 4–2 show an erratic but persistent growth since the 1950s through the Ninety-fourth Congress in the number of House panels, with some stabilization and decline evident by the Ninety-sixth Congress (1979–1980) and continuing through the Ninety-seventh and into the Ninety-eighth. A very different recent pattern for the Senate is revealed in tables 4–1 and 4–3. As a result of that body's successful committee reorganization in 1977, the number of panels, particularly subcommittees, was cut dramatically—from an overall 205 in 1975–1976 to 130 in 1979–1980. Whereas the House and Senate had an equivalent number of panels in 1975, the House in 1980 had a clear numerical superiority. In the Ninety-seventh Senate—controlled by Republicans—the number of panels rose from its previous base, while the comparable House numbers continued to decline. The gap, however, remained, as it did in the Ninety-eighth.

Tables 4–4 and 4–5 display the average number of committee assignments of representatives and senators for the same period. House committee and subcommittee assignments have doubled since the 1950s. In 1983–1984 representatives had an average of 5.8 assignments each. Senate assignments were cut back considerably with the 1977 reorganization, from 17.6 on average in 1975 to 10.4 in 1980, then rose again in the Ninety-seventh Congress and again, more significantly, in the Ninety-eighth. Assignment inflation is a persistent phenomenon in the Senate; note that even with the dramatic decrease since

1975, senators still average twice as many assignments as their House counterparts.

Tables 4–6 and 4–7 examine chairmanships of committees and subcommittees in Congress. Table 4–6 shows that the proportions of majority party House members with chairmanships of one sort or another rose steadily in the past two decades, then dropped slightly in the Ninety-seventh and Ninety-eighth Houses. The rise in the 1960s was a direct result of the increase in the number of committees and subcommittees (see table 4–1).

Even though the number of panels declined between 1967 and 1971, the number and proportion of Democrats chairing them increased. This was a direct result of a 1971 Democratic reform that limited the ability of members to chair more than one subcommittee. The number of members with more than one chairmanship declined accordingly, and for the first time more than half the majority party members held chairmanships of one kind or another. The number holding multiple chairmanships of any sort fell somewhat through 1982, then rose substantially in 1983. Apparently the norm against "stockpiling" chairmanships has relaxed.

The Senate has always been a different story when it comes to chairmanships (table 4–7). With many fewer members and nearly as many panels as the House, few majority party senators have been denied a gavel of one sort or another since the 1950s; indeed, most majority senators have had at least two chairmanships. The average number of chairmanships rose to 2.9 in the mid-1970s, and then declined with the reorganization to 2.1 in 1979–1980.

Rather than diminishing leadership opportunities for junior senators, however, the reorganization expanded them by limiting the number of chairmanships each senator could hold. In 1979 every Democratic senator save one chaired at least one subcommittee or committee. The stunning arrival of a Republican majority did not change this pattern—every Republican senator except Majority Leader Howard Baker chaired at least one subcommittee in the Ninety-seventh Congress, and all except Baker and one other held chairs in the Ninety-eighth. Moreover, the average number of chairmanships was higher in both the Ninety-seventh and the Ninety-eighth congresses than in the Ninety-sixth Democratic Senate. No doubt the influx of sixteen Republican freshmen in 1980, making up a full 30 percent of the Senate party, contributed to the continuing decentralization of chairmanships.

Table 4–8 provides insights into the causes and consequences of seniority reforms of the 1970s, in the House of Representatives in particular. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Democrats from the Deep

South constituted a near majority of their party (see table 1-2 for a more detailed regional breakdown), but they held an even greater share of committee chairmanships. Their overall strength in numbers, however, discouraged any challenge to the system of selecting chairmen by nonsoutherners who opposed the system's regional unrepresentativeness. By the late 1960s, the South's share of the Democratic party in Congress was on the wane, but its hold on chairmanships of committees, especially the most powerful committees, was more tenacious. The declining number of southern members facilitated a change in the seniority pattern for the selection of chairmen in 1971. After this reform and the dramatic ouster of three southern chairmen in December 1974, the figures changed markedly. By 1979 southerners were underrepresented in committee chairmanships, a pattern that continued into the Ninety-seventh Congress but was reversed in the Ninety-eighth.

Similar changes have occurred in the Senate. Through the departure from the Senate of senior southerners and their replacement at the top rungs of committee seniority by nonsouthern Democrats, a broader and more equal regional distribution of power and subcommittee chairmanships, indicated in table 4-8, was achieved by the mid-1970s. This meant that few senators felt so shortchanged of power that they would seek to accelerate these trends by a dramatic ouster of chairmen comparable to that in the 1974 House. The South was not disfranchised with the Republican takeover of the Senate in 1981; enough Republicans from the region had accumulated seniority, and enough southerners had been elected as Republicans, that the Senate numbers for 1983 are not dramatically different from those in the preceding Congress, when the Democrats were in the majority. On the minority side, a newer generation of southern Democrats have, almost unnoticed, moved up the seniority ladder; ironically, in the Ninety-eighth Congress they make up a disproportionate share of ranking committee members. Southerners, now only 24 percent of Senate Democrats, have nine of sixteen, or 56 percent, of ranking minority positions.

Table 4-9 demonstrates the effects of another set of reforms, the 1970 and 1973 rules changes that discouraged the closing of committee meetings in the House and Senate. After the January 1973 change, as the table indicates, closed meetings declined precipitously in number, and they virtually disappeared by 1976. At the same time, the number of informal closed meetings has apparently increased.

TABLE 3-24

TIMING OF PAC AND NON-PAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, 1977–1978

Contributor Type	*January 1, 1977–June 30, 1978*		*July 1–September 30, 1978*		*October 1–December 31, 1978*		*1977–1978*
	% of 1977–78 contributions given Jan. 1, 1977–June 30, 1978	% of Jan. 1, 1977–June 30, 1978 contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1977–78 contributions given July 1–Sept. 30, 1978	% of July 1–Sept. 30 contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1977–78 contributions given Oct. 1–Dec. 31, 1978	% of Oct. 1–Dec. 31 contributions to non-incumbents	% of all contributions to non-incumbents
Corporations	26	n.a.	21	n.a.	52	54	41
Labor unions	36	n.a.	22	n.a.	42	48	41
No connected organization	22	n.a.	25	n.a.	53	84	74
Trade/member/health	31	n.a.	24	n.a.	45	52	40
Cooperative	54	n.a.	13	n.a.	33	53	30
Corporation without stock	33	n.a.	12	n.a.	55	39	42
All PACs	31	n.a.	23	n.a.	46	54	43
Other contributors	50	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	66
(PACs as % of all contributions in period)	(13)	—	n.a.	—	n.a.	—	(21)

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCES: Compiled from Federal Election Commission press releases: "FEC Releases Mid-Year Report on Political Committee Financial Activity," September 7, 1978; "FEC Releases Summaries of Non-Party Political Committee 1977-78 Financial Activity," November 2, 1978; "FEC Releases Final Report on 1977-78 Financial Activity of Non-Party and Party Political Committees," April 24, 1980.

TABLE 3–25

TIMING OF PAC AND NON-PAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, 1979–1980

Contributor Type	*January 1, 1979–June 30, 1980*		*July 1–October 15, 1980*		*October 16–December 31, 1980*		*1979–1980*
	% of 1979–80 contributions given Jan. 1, 1979–June 30, 1980	% of Jan. 1, 1979–June 1980, contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1979–80 contributions given July 1–Oct. 15, 1980	% of July 1–Oct. 15 contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1979–80 contributions given Oct. 16–Dec. 31, 1980	% of Oct. 16–Dec. 31 contributions to non-incumbents	% of all contributions to non-incumbents
Corporations	39	24	49	52	12	67	43
Labor unions	40	19	56	35	4	40	29
No connected organization	24	58	56	75	20	60	68
Trade/member/health	38	23	59	44	3	50	36
Cooperative	40	9	54	18	6	100	19
Corporation without stock	36	5	22	23	42	60	32
All PACs	38	24	54	47	8	59	39
Other contributors	54	58	n.a.	—	n.a.	—	59
(PACs as % of all contributions in period)	(17)	—	n.a.	—	n.a.	—	(22)

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCES: Compiled from Federal Election Commission press releases: "FEC Reports on 1979–80 Senate and House Financial Activity," October 1, 1980; "FEC Releases New PAC Spending Figures for '80 Elections," March 29, 1981; "FEC Releases Final PAC Report for 1979–80 Election Cycle," February 21, 1982; "FEC Releases Final Statistics on 1979–80 Congressional Races," March 7, 1982."

TABLE 3–26

TIMING OF PAC AND NON-PAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, 1981–1982

	January 1, 1981–June 30, 1982		*July 1–October 13, 1982*		*October 14–December 31, 1982*		*1981–1982*
Contributor Type	% of 1981–82 contributions given Jan. 1, 1981–June 30, 1982	% of Jan. 1, 1981–June 30, 1982 contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1981–82 contributions given July 1–Oct. 13, 1982	% of July 1–Oct. 13 contributions to non-incumbents	% of 1981–82 contributions given Oct. 14–Dec. 31, 1982	% of Oct. 14–Dec. 31 contributions to non-incumbents	% of all contributions to non-incumbents
Corporations	46	16	40	36	14	41	27
Labor unions	40	28	44	52	15	56	43
No connected organization	27	45	44	59	30	57	54
Trade/member/health	45	15	45	34	9	45	26
Cooperative	41	7	44	20	15	41	18
Corporation without stock	45	12	39	22	16	37	20
All PACs	42	21	43	42	15	49	34
Other contributors	52	55	30	65	19	58	59
(PACs as % of all contributions in period)	(20)	—	(31)	—	(20)	—	(23)

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

SOURCES: Compiled from Federal Election Commission press releases: "FEC Releases First Full PAC Study for '82 Elections," October 3, 1982; "PAC Activity Increases," January 6, 1983; "1981–82 PAC Giving Up 51%," April 29, 1983.

a. The totals include expenditures made on behalf of, or in opposition to, candidates who were neither Democrats nor Republicans. In 1979–1980, $479 was spent on behalf of one such candidate for the House, $271,978 was spent on behalf of seven presidential candidates (including $199,438 on behalf of John Anderson), and $11,050 was spent in opposition to two presidential candidates. In 1977–1978, $7,404 was spent on behalf of fourteen candidates for the House and $920 on behalf of two Senate candidates. (In 1981–1982, there were no independent expenditures for or against candidates who were neither Democrats nor Republicans.) The totals refer to total number of candidates. Because there may have been independent expenditures for and against the same candidates, the total may be less than the sum of the candidates in each column.

SOURCES: Federal Election Commission press releases. For 1975–1978, "FEC Releases Information on Independent Expenditures," October 9, 1980. For 1979–1980, "FEC Study Shows Independent Expenditures Top $16 Million," November 29, 1981. For 1982, "FEC Issues Final Report on 1981–1982 Independent Spending," October 14, 1983.

TABLE 4-1

NUMBER OF COMMITTEES IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE, 84TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1955-1984

Congress	*Senate*	*House*	*Total*[a]
84th (1955-56)	133	130	242
90th (1967-68)	155	185	315
92d (1971-72)	181	175	333
94th (1975-76)	205	204	385
96th (1979-80)	130	193	314
97th (1981-82)	136	174	300
98th (1983-84)	137	172	299

NOTE: "Committees" includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

a. Total is less than Senate and House combined because joint panels are counted only once.

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Charles B. Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Staff Directory); and Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*.

TABLE 4-4

Committee Assignments for Representatives, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984

Congress	Mean No. of Standing Committee Assignments	Mean No. of Subcommittees of Standing Committee Assignments	Mean No. of Other Committee Assignments[a]	Total
84th (1955–56)	1.2	1.6	0.2	3.0
92d (1971–72)	1.5	3.2	0.4	5.1
94th (1975–76)	1.8	4.0	0.4	6.2
96th (1979–80)	1.7	3.6	0.5	5.8
97th (1981–82)	1.7	3.4	0.4	5.5
98th (1983–84)	1.7	3.6	0.5	5.8

a. "Other" committees include select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

Sources: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory;* and Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 4-5

Committee Assignments for Senators, 84th–98th Congresses, 1955–1984

Congress	Mean No. of Standing Committee Assignments	Mean No. of Subcommittees of Standing Committee Assignments	Mean No. of Other Committee Assignments[a]	Total
84th (1955–56)	2.2	4.8	0.9	7.9
92d (1971–72)	2.5	9.5	3.3	15.3
94th (1975–76)	2.5	11.0	4.1	17.6
96th (1979–80)	2.3	6.6	1.5	10.4
97th (1981–82)	2.5	6.7	1.5	10.7
98th (1983–84)	2.9	7.5	1.2	11.6

a. "Other" committees include select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

Sources: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory;* and Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 4-2

NUMBER AND TYPE OF HOUSE COMMITTEES, 84TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1955-1984

Congress	*Standing Committees*	*Subcommittees of Standing Committees*	*Select and Special Committees*	*Subcommittees of Select and Special Committees*	*Joint Committees*	*Subcommittees of Joint Committees*
84th (1955-56)	19	83	2	5	10	11
90th (1967-68)	20	133	1	6	10	15
92d (1971-72)	21	120	3	8	8	15
94th (1975-76)	22	151	3	4	7	17
96th (1979-80)	22	149[a]	5	8	4	5
97th (1981-82)	22	132	3	7	4	6
98th (1983-84)	22	130	3	7	4	6

a. Includes nine budget task forces and the Welfare and Pension Plans Task Force (of the Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations).

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory;* and Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 4-3

NUMBER AND TYPE OF SENATE COMMITTEES, 84TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1955-1984

Congress	*Standing Committees*	*Subcommittees of Standing Committees*	*Select and Special Committees*	*Subcommittees of Select and Special Committees*	*Joint Committees*	*Subcommittees of Joint Committees*
84th (1955-56)	15	88	3	6	10	11
90th (1967-68)	16	99	3	12	10	15
92d (1971-72)	17	123	5	13	8	15
94th (1975-76)	18	140	6	17	7	17
96th (1979-80)	15	91	5	10	4	5
97th (1981-82)	15	94	5	12	4	6
98th (1983-84)	16	103	4	4	4	6

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory;* Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac;* Walter Oleszek, "Overview of the Senate Committee System," paper prepared for the Commission on the Operation of the Senate, 1977; and Washington Monitor, *Congressional Yellow Book.*

TABLE 4-6

MAJORITY PARTY CHAIRMANSHIPS OF HOUSE COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES, 84TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1955-1984

Congress	*No. of Majority Party Members in House*	*Party in Majority*	*No. Chairing Standing Committees and Sub-committees*	*No. with Two or More Chairman-ships*	*% Chairing Standing Committees and Sub-committees*	*No. Chairing All Committees and Sub-committees*[a]	*No. with Two or More Chairman-ships*	*% Chairing All Committees and Sub-committees*[a]
84th (1955-56)	232	D	63	18	27.2	75	22	32.3
90th (1967-68)	247	D	111	32	44.9	117	38	47.4
92d (1971-72)	254	D	120	25	47.2	131	31	51.6
94th (1975-76)	289	D	142	24	49.1	150	28	51.9
96th (1979-80)	276	D	144	19	52.2	149	28	54.0
97th (1981-82)	243	D	121	16	49.8	125	26	51.4
98th (1983-84)	267	D	124	23	46.4	127	33	47.6

a. Includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from yearly volumes of Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory;* and Congressional Quarterly, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 4-7

MAJORITY PARTY CHAIRMANSHIPS OF SENATE COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES, 84TH–98TH CONGRESSES, 1955–1984

Congress	*No. of Majority Party in Senate*	*Party in Majority*	*No. Chairing Standing Committees and Sub-committees*	*% Chairing Standing Committees and Sub-committees*	*Average No. of Standing Committees and Sub-committees Chaired by Majority Members*	*No. Chairing All Committees and Sub-committees*[a]	*% of Majority Party Chairing All Committees and Sub-committees*[a]	*Average No. of All Committees and Sub-committees Chaired by Majority Members*
84th (1955–56)	48	D	42	87.5	1.8	42	87.5	2.0
90th (1967–68)	64	D	55	85.9	1.8	58	90.6	2.1
92d (1971–72)	55[b]	D	51	92.7	2.6	52	94.5	2.9
94th (1975–76)	62[b]	D	57	91.9	2.4	57	91.9	2.9
96th (1979–80)	59[b]	D	58	98.3	1.8	58	98.3	2.1
97th (1981–82)	53	R	51	96.2	1.9	52	98.1	2.3
98th (1983–84)	54	R	52	96.3	1.9	52	96.3	2.5

a. Includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

b. Includes Harry Byrd, Jr., elected as independent.

SOURCES: Compiled from information taken from Brownson, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1981, and 1983, *Congressional Staff Directory;* and Congressional Quarterly, *1955 Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 4–8

SOUTHERN CHAIRMANSHIPS OF HOUSE AND SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES, 1955–1983

	House				*Senate*			
Year	Number of southern chairmen	% of chairmanships held by southerners	% of three exclusive committees[a] chaired by southerners	% of majority party from the South	Number of southern chairmen	% of chairmanships held by southerners	% of four exclusive committees[a] chaired by southerners	% of majority party from the South
1955	12	63	67	43	8	53	50	46
1967	10	50	100	35	9	56	100	28
1971	8	38	100	31	9	53	100	30
1975	9	41	33	28	6	33	100	27
1979	5	23	33	28	4	27	50	28
1981[b]	6	27	33	29	3	20	25	19
1983[b]	7	32	67	25	3	19	25	45

a. In the House, Ways and Means, Rules, and Appropriations. In the Senate, Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations, and Armed Services.

b. In 1981 and 1983 the Republicans were the majority party in the Senate. For all other years in the table, Democrats were the majority party in both the Senate and the House.

SOURCE: Compiled from information taken from the 1955, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1981, and 1983 *Congressional Directory*, compiled under the direction of the U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing.

TABLE 4–9

Closed Committee Meetings, 1953–1975

Year	*Total Meetings*	*Number Closed*	*% Closed*
1953	2,640[a]	892	34
1954	3,002[a]	1,243	41
1955	2,940[a]	1,055	36
1956	3,120[a]	1,130	36
1957	2,517[a]	854	34
1958	3,472[a]	1,167	34
1959	3,152[a]	940	30
1960	2,424[a]	840	35
1961	3,159[a]	1,109	35
1962	2,929[a]	991	34
1963	3,868[a]	1,463	38
1964	2,393[a]	763	32
1965	3,903	1,537	39
1966	3,869	1,626	42
1967	4,412	1,716	39
1968	3,080	1,328	43
1969	4,029	1,470	36
1970	4,506	1,865	41
1971	4,816	1,731	36
1972	4,073	1,648	40
1973	5,520	887	16
1974	4,731	707	15
1975	6,325	449	7
Total[a]	84,880	27,411	32

Note: Subcommittee meetings were included in the totals along with full committee sessions. Open meetings followed by closed meetings were counted twice, once in each category. Joint meetings of separate committees or subcommittees were counted as one meeting for each. The tabulations exclude meetings held when Congress was not in regular session, meetings held outside Washington, D.C., informal meetings without official status, and meetings of the House Rules Committee to consider sending legislation to the floor. Figures have not been computed after 1975 because virtually all committee meetings have been open.

a. Meetings of the House Appropriations Committee, all reported closed until 1971, were not included in the study until 1965.

Source: Congressional Quarterly, *Guide to Congress*, 2d ed., 1976, p. 370.

5
Congressional Staff and Operating Expenses

Congress is made up of a great deal more than elected senators and representatives. With more than 31,000 employees in 1983 (table 5–1 and figure 5–1), the legislative branch is larger than the Department of State, Labor, or Housing and Urban Development. In comparison, the second most heavily staffed legislative branch in the world is the Canadian Parliament, which gets by with a staff of fewer than 3,500.[1]

Of course, Congress's employees include more than the personal and committee staffs of congressmen and senators. Also included are major research agencies, such as the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress, and support personnel, such as mail carriers, police officers, barbers, hairdressers, television technicians, computer specialists, printers, carpenters, parking attendants, photographers, and laborers.

The development of this large congressional establishment is a twentieth-century phenomenon. At the turn of the century, representatives had no personal staff, and senators had a total of only thirty-nine personal assistants (table 5–2 and figure 5–1). Committee staffs consisted of a few clerks (table 5–5). By contrast, 11,665 persons served on the personal staffs of representatives and senators in 1983, and over 3,000 people were employed by congressional committees.

The enlargement of Congress's support staff reflects both the expanding role of the government in American society and the changing role of the individual legislator. As government has done more, the congressional workload, in terms of both legislation and constituency service, has increased, and the staffing needs of Congress have expanded accordingly. The most dramatic staff growth has taken place since World War II, the personal staffs of the House and Senate having increased more than fivefold and sixfold, respectively, since 1947. One reflection of the increased demands on legislators for constituency services and the members' encouragement of those demands for reelection purposes is the dramatic expansion of congressional staff

working in constituency offices. More than one-third of the personal staffs of representatives and one-quarter of those of the senators now work in district or state offices (tables 5–3 and 5–4).

The explosion in congressional staffing is also evident on the standing committees: House committee staffs increased twelvefold and Senate committee staffs more than fourfold between 1947 and 1983 (table 5–5). Committee staffing has grown steadily since the turn of the century, but the most dramatic increases occurred in the 1970s. House committee staffs were two and three-quarters times as large in 1979 as they were in 1970, and Senate committee staffs doubled over the same period.

This enlargement of House committee staffs after 1970 is to a significant degree a result of the reform movement that swept the chamber. The sentiment for diluting the powers of committee chairmen extended to their nearly exclusive authority to hire and fire staff. Reforms allowed a much larger number of subcommittee chairmen and ranking members to hire their own staffs. The 1975 surge in committee staffing in the Senate reflects the passage of Senate Resolution 60, which authorized each senator to have a personal legislative assistant for each committee assignment. The modest reductions in Senate committee staffs in 1977 were caused by the committee reorganization that went into effect that year, which among other things reduced the number of Senate subcommittees and shifted people hired under Senate Resolution 60 to personal staff payrolls.

The 1980s have not, so far, been a repeat of the 1970s. Personal staffs have continued to grow, but committee staff numbers have leveled off somewhat. Senate committee staffs underwent a one-shot 19 percent cut after the Republicans gained control in 1981 and promised to reverse the previous decade's trends. Note, however, that more than one-third of the cuts came from one committee, Judiciary (table 5–7). As significant as the cuts may be, they left the Senate with almost 70 percent more committee staff in 1983 than in 1970.

Tables 5–6 and 5–7 rank the standing committees according to staff size. Each committee except the Senate Judiciary Committee had a significantly larger staff in 1983 than it had in 1960. Most committees employ well over fifty persons, a far cry from the post–World War II era of small, intimate, informal committee staffs. The size of a committee staff does not appear to be related uniformly to the reported power or desirability of an assignment to a particular committee. The powerful Senate Finance Committee, for example, is modestly staffed compared with the less influential Labor and Human Resources and Governmental Affairs committees. Of course, some committees that are generally considered less desirable assignments may well have ex-

panded their staffs to attract new members.

A significant part of the congressional staff works for Congress's four major research agencies (table 5–8). Two of these, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), were created in the mid-1970s, their creation reflecting a basic factor underlying the growth of congressional staff. The expanded role of the government in domestic and international affairs had made Congress increasingly dependent on the executive branch for information. A growing distrust of the executive, festering during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, convinced Congress of the necessity for congressionally controlled sources of information. Congress thus authorized these new agencies and simultaneously expanded the roles of the Congressional Research Service and the General Accounting Office (GAO). The GAO has multiple functions, including audit responsibilities with limited relevance to its role as a congressional agency. The same is true of the Library of Congress. Thus table 5–1 includes a subtotal of GAO and Library of Congress staff, which is an estimate of the number of employees with a direct congressional function.

Although the numbers in these tables describe the growth of congressional staff, they do not reveal the many roles staff members play in the legislative process. The infinite variety of staffing arrangements that exists in members' offices and on committees and the influence exercised by various staff members become apparent only through close examination of individual offices and committees. The role played by staff within individual offices may also change over time with the ebb and flow of political tides. President Reagan's ability to make Congress focus on budget issues, for example, has greatly reduced the number of bills Congress passes (see chapter 6). That means less chance for members to use their staffs as policy entrepreneurs, unless the staffs can come up with programs that do not increase the budget. In short, one should be wary of generalizing too freely about staffing roles and patterns solely on the basis of gross figures.

Returning to those figures, the costs of running Congress have grown along with the staff. Today's Congress is well over a billion-dollar enterprise. Even though congressional costs may appear puny when compared with those of the executive branch, they have grown at a dramatic pace. In the years between 1946 and 1983, legislative branch appropriations increased 2,614 percent. Over the same period, the consumer price index went up "only" 410 percent (table 5–9). As recently as the mid-1960s, the cost of operating Congress was less than one-seventh what it is today. We may now be seeing some signs

of legislative self-control: in the years between 1976, when Congress first approached the billion-dollar threshold, and 1983, legislative branch appropriations went up only 55 percent, while the consumer price index increased by 75 percent.

The figures summarizing legislative branch appropriations include much more than the cost of House and Senate operations. The appropriation also includes the expenses of such agencies as the Library of Congress, the Government Printing Office, the General Accounting Office, the Botanic Garden, and the Copyright Royalty Commission. Indeed, these agencies' budgets make up 40 percent of the 1983 legislative branch appropriation (see table 5–10 for a breakdown of the components of the congressional budget).

Table 5–11 traces one of the perquisites of office available to members of Congress—use of the frank to send materials pertaining to the official business of Congress through the U.S. mails. In 1984 the cost of the congressional franking privilege was $107 million, more than double the cost in 1981. Until 1981, the main reasons for the growing use of the frank were a more liberal law, which permits members of Congress to send mail (including newsletters and questionnaires) addressed to "occupant," and the increased value that legislators attach to communications with their constituents. The explosive growth since 1981 is a reflection of grass-roots lobbying. That is, the first wave of growth was stimulated by members, the second by constituents.

Tables 5–12 and 5–13 summarize the allowances available to representatives and senators for operating their offices and outline the changes in those allowances since 1970. In the past, expenses for such things as postage, stationery, office furnishings, equipment, and travel were governed by strict individual spending limits. The House in 1978 and the Senate in 1973 consolidated their office expense allowances into one account to give members greater flexibility in using their expense allowances. Because Congress is a labor-intensive enterprise, however, the largest share of the congressional allowance is for staff.

NOTE: In the source notes to the tables in this chapter, two kinds of frequently cited legislative appropriations documents are abbreviated as follows:
House LBA Hearings for 19xx = U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 19xx*. *Senate LBA Hearings for 19xx* = U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations for 19xx*. The year in the citation is the fiscal year covered by the appropriation hearing and not the year in our tables.

---

1. Michael J. Malbin, *Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government* (New York: Basic Books, 1980, paperback edition, 1982), p. 10.

TABLE 5-1

CONGRESSIONAL STAFF, 1979–1983

	1979	*1981*	*1983*
House			
Committee staff[a]	2,027	1,917	2,068
Personal staff	7,067	7,487	7,606
Leadership staff[b]	162	127	135
Officers of the House, staff[c]	1,487	1,686	1,728
Subtotal, House	10,743	11,217	11,537
Senate			
Committee staff[a]	1,410	1,150	1,176
Personal staff	3,593	3,945	4,059
Leadership staff[b]	91	106	120
Officers of the Senate, staff[c]	828	878	948
Subtotal, Senate	5,922	6,079	6,303
Joint committee staffs	138	126	123
Support agencies			
General Accounting Office	5,303	5,182	4,960
(30% of GAO)	(1,591)	(1,555)	(1,488)
Library of Congress	5,390	4,799	4,815
(Congressional Research Service)	(847)	(849)	(853)
Congressional Budget Office	207	218	211
Office of Technology Assessment	145	130	130
Subtotal, support agencies	11,045	10,329	10,116
(Subtotal, only CRS in Library, 30% of GAO)	(2,790)	(2,752)	(2,682)
Miscellaneous			
Architect	2,296	1,986	2,061
Capitol Police Force	1,167	1,163	1,148
Subtotal	3,463	3,149	3,209
Total	31,311	30,900	31,288
(Total, only CRS in Library and 30% of GAO)	(23,056)	(23,323)	(23,854)

a. Includes select and special committee staffs. Figures therefore do not agree with those in table 5-5.

b. Includes legislative counsels' offices.

c. Doorkeepers, parliamentarians, sergeants-at-arms, clerk of the House, Senate majority and minority secretaries, and postmasters.

SOURCES: For 1979: *Report of the Clerk of the House*, July 1, 1979, to September 30, 1979; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, April 1, 1979, to September 30, 1979; and U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Work Force Analysis and Statistics Branch, *Federal Civilian Workforce Statistics*, monthly release, October 31, 1979, p. 6. For 1981: *House LBA Hearings for 1983*, pt. 1, pp. 24–28; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1982*, pp. 117, 253, 266; Senate

Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding* (Committee Print No. 2, March 1981); and *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1981, to March 31, 1982, pp. 1–23. For 1983: *House LBA Hearings for 1985,* pt. 1, pp. 23–27; Office of the Clerk of the House; Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding* (Committee Print No. 3, March 1984); *Senate LBA Hearings for 1984,* pp. 47, 276; and Office of U.S. Capitol Police.

TABLE 5–2

STAFFS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE, 1891–1983

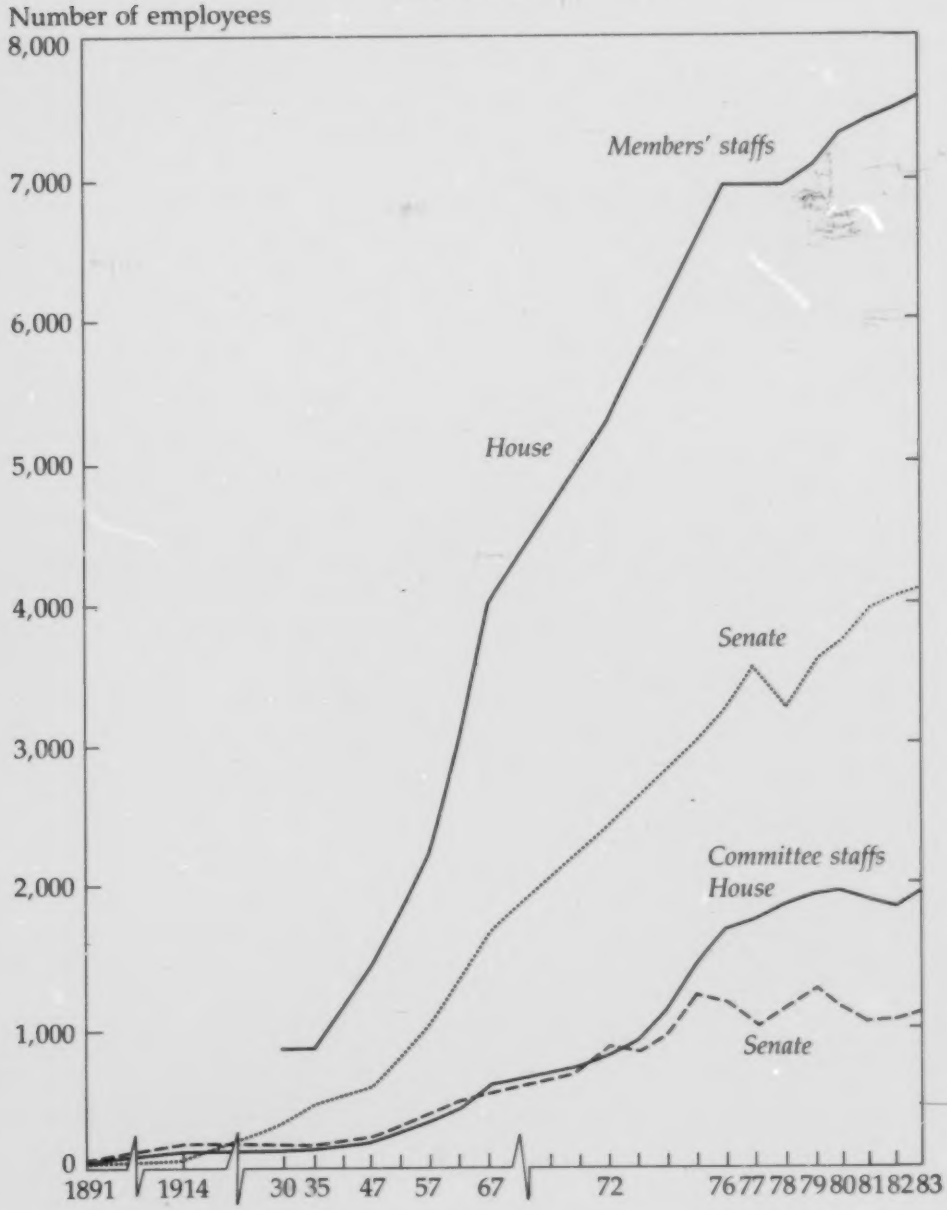
Year	*Employees in House*	*Employees in Senate*
1891	n.a.	39
1914	n.a.	72
1930	870	280
1935	870	424
1947	1,440	590
1957	2,441	1,115
1967	4,055	1,749
1972	5,280	2,426
1976	6,939	3,251
1977	6,942	3,554
1978	6,944	3,268
1979	7,067	3,593
1980	7,371	3,746
1981	7,487	3,945
1982	7,511	4,041
1983	7,606	4,059

n.a. = not available.

SOURCES: For 1891 through 1976: Harrison W. Fox, Jr., and Susan W. Hammond, *Congressional Staffs: The Invisible Force in American Lawmaking* (New York: Free Press, 1977), p. 171. For 1977 and 1978: Judy Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947–78," Congressional Research Service, August 24, 1979, reprinted in U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee on Committees, *Final Report,* April 1, 1980, p. 540. For 1977, 1978, and 1979 House: *Report of the Clerk of the House.* For 1979 Senate: *Report of the Secretary of the Senate.* For 1980: *House LBA Hearings for 1982,* pt. 1, p. 25; and *Senate LBA Hearings for 1981,* pt. 1, p. 26. For 1981: *House LBA Hearings for 1983,* pt. 1, pp. 24–28; and *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1981–March 31, 1982. For 1982: *House LBA Hearings for 1984,* pt. 1, p. 25; and *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1982–March 31, 1983. For 1983: *House LBA Hearings for 1985,* pt. 1, p. 24; and *Report of the Secretary of the Senate,* October 1, 1983–March 31, 1984.

FIGURE 5-1

STAFF OF MEMBERS AND OF COMMITTEES IN CONGRESS, 1891-1983



SOURCE: Tables 5-2 and 5-5.

TABLE 5–3

House Staff Based in District Offices, 1970–1983

Year	*Employees*	*Percentage of Total Personal Staffs in District Offices*
1970	1,035	n.a.
1971	1,121	n.a.
1972	1,189	22.5
1973	1,347	n.a.
1974	1,519	n.a.
1975	1,732	n.a.
1976	1,943	28.0
1977	2,058	29.6
1978	2,317	33.4
1979	2,445	34.6
1980	2,534	34.4
1981	2,702	36.1
1982	2,694	35.8
1983	2,785	36.6

n.a. = not available.

Sources: For 1970–1978: Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947–78." For 1979–1983: Charles B. Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory,* Washington, D.C., annual editions.

TABLE 5–4

Senate Staff Based in State Offices, 1972–1983

Year	*Employees*	*Percentage of Total Personal Staffs in State Offices*
1972	303	12.5
1978	816	25.0
1979	879	24.3
1980	953	25.4
1981	937	25.8
1982	1,053	26.1
1983	1,132	27.9

Source: Brownson, *Congressional Staff Directory,* annual editions.

TABLE 5-5

STAFFS OF HOUSE AND SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES, 1891–1983

Year	*Employees in House*	*Employees in Senate*
1891	62	41
1914	105	198
1930	112	163
1935	122	172
1947	167	232
1950	246	300
1955	329	386
1960	440	470
1965	571	509
1970	702	635
1971	729	711
1972	817	844
1973	878	873
1974	1,107	948
1975	1,460	1,277
1976	1,680	1,201
1977	1,776	1,028
1978	1,844	1,151
1979	1,909	1,269
1980	1,917	1,191
1981	1,843	1,022
1982	1,839	1,047
1983	1,970	1,075

NOTE: Figures for 1947–1983 are for the statutory and investigative staffs of standing committees. They do not include select committee staffs, which varied between 31 and 238 in the House and between 62 and 172 in the Senate during the 1970s. For this reason, the numbers do not agree with those in table 5–1.

SOURCES: For 1891–1935: Fox and Hammond, *Congressional Staffs,* p. 171. For 1947–1978: Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947–78." For 1979–1980 Senate: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Inquiries and Investigations,* 96th Congress, 2d session, Committee Print No. 2, March 5, 1980. For 1981–1983 Senate: Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding* (annual committee prints). For 1981 House: *House LBA Hearings for 1983,* pt. 2, p. 107. For 1982 House: *House LBA Hearings for 1984,* pt. 2, p. 77. For 1983 House: Office of the Clerk of the House (unpublished document).

TABLE 5-6

STAFFS OF HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEES, 1947-1983

Committee	*1947*	*1960*	*1970*	*1975*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
House Administration[a]	7	4	25	217	273	252	267
Appropriations	29	59	71	98	129	127	160
Energy and Commerce	10	45	42	112	160	151	158
Education and Labor	10	25	77	114	121	121	121
Budget	[b]	[b]	[b]	67	86	93	97
Ways and Means	12	22	24	63	99	91	94
Banking	4	14	50	85	97	87	93
Government Operations	9	54	60	68	85	84	87
Post Office and Civil Service	6	9	46	61	66	74	87
Foreign Affairs	10	14	21	54	82	84	85
Public Works	6	32	40	88	81	86	84
Judiciary	7	27	35	69	80	75	82
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	6	9	21	28	91	82	81
Science and Technology	[b]	17	26	47	87	74	78
Interior	4	10	14	57	75	70	73
Agriculture	9	10	17	48	66	62	70
Armed Services	10	15	37	38	48	49	56
Small Business	[b]	[b]	[b]	27	46	54	53
Rules	4	2	7	18	47	43	47
District of Columbia	7	8	15	43	41	41	46
Veterans' Affairs	7	18	18	26	34	34	32
Standards of Official Conduct	[b]	[b]	5	5	15	9	19
Internal Security	10	46	51	27	[b]	[b]	[b]

NOTE: Committees are ranked in order of their staff size in 1983.

a. After 1972, figures include employees of House Informations Systems, the House of Representatives' central computer facility.

b. Not a standing committee.

SOURCES: For 1947-1975: Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979: *House LBA Hearings for 1981,* pt. 2, p. 136. For 1981: *House LBA Hearings for 1983,* pt. 2, p. 107. For 1983: Office of the Clerk of the House (unpublished document).

TABLE 5-7

STAFFS OF SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES, 1947-1983

Committee	*1947*	*1960*	*1970*	*1975*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Judiciary	19	137	190	251	223	134	141
Governmental Affairs	29	47	55	144	179	153	138
Labor and Human Resources	9	28	69	150	155	119	125
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	8	52	53	111	96	78	90
Appropriations	23	31	42	72	80	79	82
Budget	a	a	a	90	91	82	79
Foreign Relations	8	25	31	62	75	59	63
Environment and Public Works	10	11	34	70	74	56	56
Energy and Natural Resources (Interior)	7	26	22	53	55	50	56
Finance	6	6	16	26	67	50	53
Armed Services	10	23	19	30	31	36	41
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	9	22	23	55	48	39	39
Agriculture	3	10	7	22	34	34	34
Rules and Administration	41	15	13	29	37	31	30
Small Business	a	a	a	a	a	a	26
Veterans' Affairs	a	a	a	32	24	22	22
Aeronautics and Space Sciences	a	10	12	22	a	a	a
District of Columbia	4	7	18	33	a	a	a
Post Office and Civil Service	46	20	31	25	a	a	a

NOTE: Committees are ranked in the order of their staff size in 1983.

a. Committee not in existence.

SOURCES: For 1947-1975: Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947-78." For 1979-1983: Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, *Senate Committee Funding* (this annual committee print lists the number of positions authorized for each committee; the number actually employed at any one time may be less).

TABLE 5-8

STAFFS OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT AGENCIES, 1946–1983

Year	Library of Congress	Congressional Research Service Only[a]	General Accounting Office[b]	Congressional Budget Office	Office of Technology Assessment
1946			14,219		
1947	1,898	160	10,695		
1950	1,973	161	7,876		
1955	2,459	166	5,776		
1960	2,779	183	5,074		
1965	3,390	231	4,278		
1970	3,848	332	4,704		
1971	3,963	386	4,718		
1972	4,135	479	4,742		
1973	4,375	596	4,908		
1974	4,504	687	5,270		10
1975	4,649	741	4,905	193	54
1976	4,880	806	5,391	203	103
1977	5,075	789	5,315	201	139
1978	5,231	818	5,476	203	164
1979	5,390	847	5,303	207	145
1980	5,047	868	5,196	218	122
1981	4,799	849	5,182	218	130
1982	4,803	849	5,027	218	130
1983	4,815	853	4,960	211	130

a. Legislative Reference Service through 1970.

b. Before 1950 the GAO was responsible for auditing all individual federal transactions and keeping a record of them. Legislation in 1950 transferred these responsibilities to the executive branch. The staff reductions through 1965 result from this 1950 change. See Frederich C. Mosher, *The GAO: The Quest for Accountability in American Government* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1979), p. 124.

SOURCES: Library of Congress: *Annual Reports of the Librarian of Congress*. GAO (1946–1965): *Annual Reports of the Comptroller General of the United States*. OTA (1974–1976): *Appendixes of the Budget of the United States* for fiscal 1976 (p. 18), 1977 (p. 18), and 1978 (p. 40). CBO (1975): Joel Havemann, *Congress and the Budget* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 109. Data are as of October 1975. The CBO's director took office on February 24, 1975. GAO (1970–1978), CBO (1976–1978), and OTA (1977–1978): Schneider, "Congressional Staffing, 1947–78." For 1979–1983: same as table 5-1.

TABLE 5-9

Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946-1984

Year	*Appropriation (dollars)*	*Increase (percent)*	*Consumer Price Index*	*Increase (percent)*
1946	54,065,614	—	58.5	—
1947	61,825,020	14.4	66.9	14.4
1948	62,119,714	0.5	72.1	7.8
1949	62,057,678	-0.1	71.4	-1.0
1950	64,313,460	3.6	72.1	1.0
1951	71,888,244	11.8	77.8	7.9
1952	75,673,896	5.3	79.5	2.2
1953	77,670,076	2.6	80.1	0.8
1954	70,925,361	-8.7	80.5	0.5
1955	86,304,923	21.7	80.2	-0.4
1956	94,827,986	9.9	81.4	1.5
1957	120,775,798	27.4	84.3	3.6
1958	107,785,560	-10.8	86.6	2.7
1959	136,153,580	26.3	87.3	0.8
1960	131,055,385	-3.7	88.7	1.6
1961	140,930,781	7.5	89.6	1.0
1962	136,686,715	-3.0	90.6	1.1
1963	150,426,185	10.1	91.7	1.2
1964	168,467,869	12.0	92.9	1.3
1965	221,904,318	31.7	94.5	1.7
1966	197,965,307	-10.8	97.2	2.9
1967	221,715,643	12.0	100.0	2.9
1968	282,003,322	27.2	104.2	4.2
1969	311,542,399	10.5	109.8	5.4
1970	361,024,327	15.9	116.3	5.9
1971	443,104,319	22.7	121.3	4.3
1972	564,107,992	27.3	125.3	3.3
1973	645,127,365	14.4	133.1	6.2
1974	662,180,668	2.6	147.7	11.0
1975	785,618,833	18.6	161.2	9.1
1976[a]	947,185,778	20.6	170.5	5.8
1977	963,921,185	1.8	181.5	6.5
1978	1,009,225,350	4.7	195.4	7.7
1979	1,124,766,400	11.4	217.4	11.3
1980	1,199,061,463	6.6	246.8	13.5
1981	1,285,943,826	7.2	272.4	10.4
1982	1,365,272,433	6.2	289.1	6.1
1983	1,467,318,263	7.5	298.4	3.2

TABLE 5-9 (continued)

Year	Appropriation (dollars)	Increase (percent)	Consumer Price Index	Increase (percent)
1984	1,473,359,000	0.4	n.a.	—
1946–1983	—	2,614.0	—	410.1

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Appropriations include supplementals, except for 1984; appropriations are for fiscal years, but the consumer price index is for calendar years.

a. From fiscal year 1946 through fiscal year 1976, the fiscal year began on July 1. Beginning with fiscal year 1977, the start of the fiscal year was shifted to October 1. During the transition quarter of July 1–September 30, 1976, the amount appropriated for legislative branch operations was $207,391,365. This amount is not included.

SOURCES: For 1946–1976: U.S. Congress, House, Committee on House Administration, "Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing, and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1947–78," 95th Congress, 2d session, November 1978. For 1977–1979: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 1977–1980 editions. For 1980: *House LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, pp. 10–11; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, pp. 15–23; U.S. Congress, Public Law 96-304 (July 8, 1980) and Public Law 97-51 (October 1, 1981). For 1981: *House LBA Hearings for 1982*, pt. 1, pp. 15–23; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1982*, p. 268; Senate Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority and Outlays—Fiscal Year 1983* (unpublished committee document), April 27, 1982, p. 3; and Public Law 97-12, June 5, 1981. For 1982–1984: House Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority* (unpublished committee documents). For consumer price index (all years): *Economic Report of the President*, February 1984.

TABLE 5–11

COSTS OF OFFICIAL MAIL, 1971–1984

Year	*Appropriations (dollars)*	*Average Unit Cost of Franked Mail (cents)*
1971	11,244,000	8
1972	14,594,000	8
1972 supplement	18,400,000	
1973	21,226,480	8.79
1974	30,500,000	9.9
1975	38,756,015	11.4
1976	46,101,000	13.2
Transition period[a]	11,525,000	
1976 supplement	16,080,000	
1977	46,904,000	13.4
1978	48,926,000	12.7
1979	64,944,000	13.98
1980[b]	50,707,000	13.39
1981	52,033,000	
1982	75,095,000	13.94[c]
1983	93,161,000	12.3[c]
1984	107,077,000	12.3[c]

NOTE: 1984 figure does not include supplementals. See table 6–6 for number of pieces of franked mail.

a. Reflects change in the fiscal year from July 1 to October 1.

b. Lower figure reflects decrease in bulk mail rates.

c. Estimate.

SOURCES: Same as table 5–9. For unit cost of franked mail: *House LBA Hearings for 1980*, p. 1594; Office of the Clerk of the House; and Office of the Postmaster.

TABLE 5–12

ALLOWANCES FOR REPRESENTATIVES, 1970–1983

Category	*1970*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Clerk-hire	$149,292[a]	$238,580[b]	$288,156[c]	$336,384[d]	$366,648[e]
Postage	$700	$211	[f]	[f]	[f]
Stationery	$3,500	$6,500	[f]	[f]	[f]
Travel (round trips)	12	33	[f]	[f]	[f]
Telephone/ telegraph	80,000 units[g]	$5,200 for equipment; 15,000 long-distance minutes	[f]	[f]	[f]
District and state offices rental	$2,400	2,500 sq. ft.[h]	[f]	[f]	[f]
Furnishings (one-time)	$5,000	$27,000	[f]	[f]	[f]
Official expenses	$1,200	$7,000[i]	$50,000–130,000[j]	$66,200–248,601[j]	$88,850–279,470[j]
Constituent communications (begun in 1975)	0	$5,000	[f]	[f]	[f]
Equipment lease	0	$9,000	[f]	[f]	[f]

a. Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $149,292 for a staff not to exceed fifteen employees for a member representing a district under 500,000 persons or $157,092 for a staff not to exceed sixteen employees for a member representing a district with 500,000 or more.

b. Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $215,372 for a staff not to exceed eighteen employees. If a member elected to employ a research assistant, the member's clerk-hire allowance was increased by $23,208 to $238,580.

c. Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $288,156 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into five categories: (1) shared payroll—employees, such as computer experts, who are shared by members; (2) interns—employees hired for an educational experience for not more than 120 days and not paid more than $7,800 on an annual scale; (3) employees on leave without pay; (4) part-time employees—employees hired for not more than fifteen full days a month or not paid more than $750 per month; (5) temporary employees—employees hired for a specific purpose for not more than 90 days.

d. Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $336,384 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into the five categories in footnote c, except that maximum intern pay was $9,120 per year and maximum part-time employee pay was $880 per month.

e. Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of $366,648 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into the five categories in

footnote c, except that maximum intern pay was $10,080 per year and maximum part-time employee pay was $970 per month.

f. As of January 3, 1978, previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses were consolidated in a single allowance category—the official expenses allowance. Members may now budget funds for each category as they see fit.

g. Four units equal one telephone minute; one unit equals one telegram word.

h. General Services Administration's applicable rates ranged from $5 to $18 per square foot.

i. On March 2, 1977, an official expenses allowance of $7,000 per session was authorized for official expenses incurred in district and Washington, D.C., offices, to be effective January 3, 1978. From July 1, 1954, to January 3, 1978, an allowance was provided to members for expenses incurred only outside the District of Columbia. The official expenses allowance approved March 2, 1977, provided that funds be available for expenses not only of district offices but also of Washington, D.C., offices. Previously, Washington, D.C., office expenses not met by official individual allowances were paid from such sources as unofficial office accounts and members' personal funds. The official expenses allowance approved March 2, 1977, and to have become effective January 3, 1978, however, was superseded by a decision of the Committee on House Administration on November 2, 1977, effective January 3, 1978. The committee's decision provided for two allowances: (1) the official expenses allowance and (2) the clerk-hire allowance. The official expenses allowance, presently in effect, consolidates previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses.

j. Each member is entitled to a base official expenses allowance of $52,000 ($43,000 in 1981 and $32,000 in 1979). In addition, there are three variables that determine the total amount allotted for official expenses: (1) transportation costs, (2) telecommunications costs, and (3) cost of office space. The amount allotted for travel is computed as follows: sixty-four multiplied by the rate per mile multiplied by the mileage between the District of Columbia and the farthest point in the member's district, according to the Rand McNally *Standard Highway Mileage Guide*, plus 10 percent.

The amount allotted for telecommunications is computed as follows: 15,000 times the highest long-distance rate per minute from the District of Columbia to the member's district. If the member has elected to use WATS or a similar service in his office, the 15,000-minute multiplier will be reduced by one-half.

The amount allotted for office space costs is computed as follows: 2,500 square feet multiplied by the highest applicable rate per square foot charged to federal agencies in the district for rental of office space. Rates are established by the administrator of general services and ranged from $7.51 to $35.34 per square foot in 1983.

The official expenses allowance may not be used for:

1. expenses relating to the hiring and employment of individuals, including, but not limited to, employment service fees, transportation of interviewees to and from employment interviews, and cost of relocation upon acceptance or termination of employment or as a result of reassignment of duty station

2. items purchased from other than the House stationery store that have a useful life greater than current term of the member and that would have a residual value of more than $25 upon the expiration of the current term of the member

3. holiday greeting cards, flowers, and trophies or certificates or other items to be given in recognition of personal distinction

4. personal advertisements (other than meeting or appearance notices)

5. donations of any type, except flags of the United States flown over the Capitol

(Notes continue)

6. dues other than to legislative support organizations as approved by the Committee on House Administration

7. educational expenses for courses of study or information or training programs unless the benefit accrues primarily to the House and the skill or knowledge is not commonly available

8. purchases of radio and television time

9. parking for member and employees at district offices, except when included as an integral part of the lease or occupancy agreement for the district office space

In addition, new members do not use their official expenses allowance to cover the expense of attending the presession caucus. Instead, they receive a per diem of $50 plus transportation expenses from the House Contingent Fund.

SOURCES: For 1970: Richard E. Cohen, "Congressional Allowances Are Really Perking Up," *National Journal* (February 4, 1978), p. 182. For 1977 and 1979: Committee on House Administration, "Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946–1978." For 1981 and 1983: U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Handbook*.

TABLE 5–13

ALLOWANCES FOR SENATORS, 1970–1983

Category	*1970*	*1972*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Clerk-hire	$239,805–401,865[a]	$311,557–558,145[a]	$508,221–1,021,167[a]	$592,608–1,190,724[a]	$645,897–1,297,795[a]
Legislative assistance	NA	NA	$157,626[b]	$183,801[b]	$200,328[b]
Postage	$1,056–1,320	$1,215–1,520	[c]	[c]	[c]
Stationery	$3,600[d]	$3,600–5,000[e]	[c]	[c]	[c]
Travel (round trips)	12	20–22[f]	[c]	[c]	[c]
Telephone	[g]	[g]	[g]	[g]	[g]
Telegraph	[h]	[h]	[h]	[h]	[h]
District and state offices rental	NA	NA	4,800–8,000 sq. ft.[i]	4,800–8,000 sq. ft.[i]	4,800–8,000 sq. ft.[i]
Furnishings, state offices	NA	NA	$22,550–31,350[j]	$22,550–31,350[j]	$22,550–31,350[j]
Expenses	$1,600	$1,600	[c]	[c]	[c]
Official office expense account	NA	NA	$33,000–143,000[k]	$33,000–143,000[k]	$33,000–143,000[k]

NA = not applicable.

a. There is no limit on the number of employees a senator may hire. He must, however, use only the clerk-hire or legislative assistance allowance to pay staff salaries. The clerk-hire allowance varies according to state population.

b. In addition to clerk-hire, each senator has a legislative assistance allowance worth $200,328 in 1983. This allowance is reduced for any committee chairman or ranking minority member of a committee. It is also reduced for any other senator authorized by a committee chairman to recommend or approve any individuals for appointment to the committee staff who will assist that senator "solely and directly" in his duties as a member of the committee. The amount of the reduction would equal the total compensation of all such committee staff but would not exceed $66,776 (one-third of $200,328) for any one committee.

c. This allowance is one of the allocations of the consolidated office expense allowance. Before January 1, 1973, senators were authorized individually controlled allowances for six expense categories as follows: transportation expenses for the senator and his staff;

(Notes continue)

stationery; mail and delivery service; long-distance telephone calls; telegram charges; and home state expenses, which include home state office expenses—telephone service charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.; subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and clipping or similar services; and home state office rent (repealed effective July 1, 1974).

Effective January 1, 1973, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, provided for the consolidation of these same allowances to provide flexibility to senators in the management of the same dollars provided for their expense allowances. No limit was imposed on any expense category by this authorization. The allowance was designated as the consolidated office expense allowance. Effective January 1, 1977, the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act redesignated the consolidated office expense allowance as the official office expense account.

d. Before July 1, 1968, senators could be paid the unobligated balance of the stationery allowance at the close of each fiscal year. For fiscal year 1969 and each fiscal year thereafter, the commutation of this allowance was prohibited.

e. This allowance varied according to state population.

f. Effective July 1, 1971, the transportation allowance was changed to a lump-sum amount for each senator, for himself and his employees, in accordance with the following: an amount equal to (a) forty times (for states with a population of less than 10 million) or (b) forty-four times (for states with a population of 10 million or more) the applicable mileage rate times the actual certified one-way mileage of the senator.

g. Before 1981 the allowance was authorized not to exceed a fixed number of calls aggregating not more than a fixed number of minutes per month for calls to and from Washington, D.C. Inasmuch as the zone charges for long-distance service varied throughout the United States, there was no fixed dollar amount for this item. Since 1981, telephone costs have been allocated to the official office expense account and have no dollar limit.

h. The allowance formula was a fixed dollar amount plus an amount based on the population of the senator's home state and the Western Union rates from Washington, D.C. Since the Western Union rates varied with distance from Washington, D.C., this allowance was different for each state.

i. Effective July 1, 1974, the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1975, provided a formula for the allowable aggregate square feet of office space in the home state of a senator. There is no limit on the number of offices that may be established by a senator in his home state, but the designated square footage may not be exceeded. The cost of office space in the home state is not chargeable to the official office expense account.

j. An aggregate furniture and furnishings allowance is provided through the General Services Administration for one or more state offices in either federal or privately owned buildings. The $22,550 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square feet is increased by $550 for each authorized increase of 200 square feet of space.

k. The expense account may be used for the following expenses (2 U.S.C. 58[a], as amended):

1. official telegrams and long-distance phone calls and related services
2. stationery and other office supplies purchased through the stationery room for official business
3. costs incurred in the mailing or delivery of matters relating to official business
4. official office expenses in home state, other than equipment or furniture (purchase of office equipment beyond stated allocations may be made through 10 percent funds listed under item 9 below)
5. official telephone charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.
6. subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or clipping or similar services
7. travel expenses incurred by a senator or staff member, subject to certain limitations

8. expenses incurred by individuals selected by a senator to serve on panels or other bodies making recommendations for nominees to service academies or federal judgeships

9. other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary, including (a) additional office equipment for Washington, D.C., or state offices; (b) actual transportation expenses incurred by the senator and employees for official business in the Washington metropolitan area (this is also allowed to employees assigned to a state office for actual transportation expenses in the general vicinity of the office to which assigned but is not available for a change of assignment within the state or for commuting between home and office); but not including official office expenses incurred in the senator's state, except additional office equipment.

The total reimbursement expense for the calendar year may not exceed 10 percent of the total official office expense account.

Beginning with fiscal year 1981, each senator was also allowed to transfer funds from the administrative, clerical, and legislative assistance allowances to the official office expense account.

SOURCES: For 1970: Cohen, "Congressional Allowances Are Really Perking Up," p. 182. For 1972: U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1980.* For 1979–1983: U.S. Senate, *Congressional Handbook.*

6
Workload

The tables in this chapter provide a picture of an institution in which the workload increased dramatically in the 1970s, peaking in about 1976 or 1977, and then began to decline, though not to its level in the 1950s. The overall number of bills, votes, hours in session, meetings, and hearings has multiplied over the past two decades (see tables 6–1 and 6–2). Paradoxically, however, through much of the 1970s the number of bills passed by the House and the Senate and the number of bills enacted into law decreased. More and more activity was combined with fewer and fewer products. Since 1980, the workload—hearings, meetings, and so on—has slowed to mesh more directly with the reduced output. Bills and votes have also continued to decline, however, leaving still a decided gap between activity and output.

Bills Introduced

The number of bills introduced in the House has had several step increases or decreases. From an average of about 10,000 per Congress in the 1940s and early 1950s, the number jumped to 13,169 in the Eighty-fourth Congress (1955–1956). It remained at approximately 14,000 until the Eighty-ninth Congress (1965–1966), when it jumped again to nearly 20,000. In the 1970s, bills introduced declined steadily, to 15,587 in the Ninety-fifth Congress, in part because of changes in the rules regarding cosponsorship, which reduced the need to introduce multiple numbers of an identical bill. The numbers dropped dramatically in the Ninety-sixth Congress—by 42 percent—and have continued to decline; the Ninety-seventh Congress had the lowest total in thirty-four years. The Senate has shown no such distinct ebbs and flows, although some decline is evident from the Ninety-third through the Ninety-eighth Congresses.

Bills Passed

An examination of bills passed in both houses shows a definite decline in the 1960s and again in the 1970s, though not in a uniform fashion, followed by a sharp drop, especially in the House, in the 1980s. Overall, however, bills passed in each house went from a rough average of 2,000 per Congress in the 1950s to 1,500 in the 1960s, to 1,000 in the 1970s, and to 800 or so in the 1980s thus far. Tables 6–1 and 6–2 also examine the ratio of bills passed to those introduced (see also figure 6–1). Although the significance of these figures is limited because some bills are introduced by more than one member and some that are passed may originally have been introduced in the other body, the ratios can be used for comparisons over time. In both institutions, there has been a steady and marked decline since 1947 in the proportion of bills passed. A bill introduced now has about one-third the chance of success in the House that it would have had in the Eightieth Congress and about one-half the chance of success in the Senate. The 1983 Senate shows a particularly low figure, but the number should rise with the belated passage of bills in the second year of a Congress.

Recorded Votes

The number of recorded votes remained quite low in the House through the 1940s and 1950s, increased somewhat in the mid-1960s, and jumped dramatically in the 1970s with each Congress from the Ninety-second (1971–1972) through the Ninety-fifth (1977–1978). A rules change in 1971, which permitted recorded teller votes and thereby expanded the opportunities for recorded votes on amendments, has clearly been a major factor in increasing the number of recorded votes in the House.

The Senate also showed a marked increase in recorded votes beginning in 1971, even though no comparable procedural reform was introduced there, but the increase in the Senate was not as great as that in the House. In the Ninety-fifth Congress (1977–1978) the House for the first time had more recorded votes than the Senate. It would appear that both procedural reforms and a decentralization of power and initiative in the House and Senate contributed to the trend toward increased numbers of recorded votes.

Table 6–3, which breaks down recorded votes by year, shows a small but relatively steady decline in the votes in the Senate since 1977 (see also figure 6–2), with a sharper drop in 1983. The House rates declined significantly in 1979 and 1980, dropped sharply in 1981 to

TABLE 5-10

Legislative Branch Appropriations, by Category, 1980–1984
(dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Senate	216,917,500	227,933,000	228,034,108	239,008,000	245,176,000
House of Representatives	329,126,963	360,980,026	380,386,325	367,871,263	384,062,000
Joint items[a]	60,258,000	61,000,900	84,472,000	102,448,000	117,325,000
Architect of the Capitol	60,964,000	80,062,000	83,173,000	143,768,000	87,140,000
Botanic Garden	1,464,000	1,644,000	2,351,000	1,897,000	2,018,000
Congressional Budget Office	12,386,000	12,767,000	13,226,000	15,094,000	16,300,000
Office of Technology Assessment	11,119,000	11,403,000	12,169,000	13,084,000	14,653,000
Library of Congress	179,517,000	186,445,900	195,123,000	209,185,000	213,614,000
Government Printing Office	121,238,000	122,650,000	129,851,000	121,829,000	125,700,000
General Accounting Office	204,300,000	220,602,000	236,000,000	252,665,000	267,161,000
Cost Accounting Standards Board	1,300,000	—	—	—	—
Copyright Royalty Commission	471,000	456,000	487,000	469,000	210,000

Note: Includes supplemental appropriations; except for 1984.

a. Includes such items as joint committees, Capitol Police, and official mail costs.

Sources: Same as table 5-9.

levels of a decade earlier, and increased somewhat in 1982 and 1983. Although long-term future trends are difficult to discern, it seems likely that the number of recorded votes in both chambers will stabilize at levels below the peak years of the mid-1970s but above those of the 1960s.

Time in Session

As tables 6-1 and 6-2 indicate, there has been substantial fluctuation in the numbers of days in session per Congress, with no particular longitudinal pattern until recently; Congress has been in session somewhat less during each of the three years of the 1980s. This pattern is especially true of the Senate. The number of hours per day in session, however, clearly increased over time, especially in the House, through the 1970s and seems to have stabilized in the 1980s. The House went from an average of 4.2 hours per day in the 1950s to 4.4 in the 1960s and 5.3 in the 1970s, with an average of 5.8 hours per day in 1979–1980. The average since has been a little over 5 hours per day.

In the Senate, where floor procedures have always been looser and more informal and filibusters have periodically extended the time in session, there is no comparable increase over time or any comparable sharp drop. Sessions in the 1970s and 1980s, however, have consistently been long, never falling below 2,000 hours; in the earlier period they demonstrated considerably more fluctuation, only five of the twelve between 1947 and 1970 being over 2,000 hours.

Committee and Subcommittee Meetings

The number of committee and subcommittee meetings and hearings rose consistently in the House of Representatives beginning in 1965–1966, the most substantial increases occurring in the mid-to-late 1970s. The 1979–1980 figures for the House were more than double the average number per Congress in the 1950s and 1960s. The expansion of power and initiative to subcommittees and the wider distribution of chairmanships probably account for much of this change. The figures for the 1980s so far indicate a marked cutback in committee and subcommittee activity, to levels, if the trend continues, of a decade or more earlier.

In the Senate a rather different pattern has occurred. The number of meetings and hearings jumped substantially in the late 1960s and early 1970s, beginning especially with the famous "Great Society" Eighty-ninth Congress (1965–1966) and reaching a peak a decade later in the Ninety-fourth Congress (1975–1976) of 4,265, some 70 percent

higher than in the 1950s. Beginning in 1977, however—after the committee system reorganization that sharply cut back the number of subcommittees and assignments (see chapter 4)—the number of meetings and hearings began to decline, to 3,960 in the Ninety-fifth Congress, to 3,790 in the Ninety-sixth, and to 3,236 in the Ninety-seventh. The activity for the first year of the Ninety-eighth Congress indicates a further decline. The Ninety-eighth Senate, however, may well end up with committee activity levels very close to those of the mid-1960s or earlier, given that committee activity is always higher in the first year of a Congress.

Laws and Other Output

Table 6-4, focusing more directly on congressional output, shows the number of public and private bills enacted into law (that is, passed by both the House and the Senate and signed by the president) and the number of pages of enacted bills (see also figure 6-3). There has been a decline in recent congresses in the number of public bills enacted, combined with a striking increase in the average page length of the statutes since 1975–1976. From the 1950s through the mid-1960s, the average number of pages per statute was approximately 2.5. The average jumped to approximately 5 pages in the mid-1970s, reached 7 pages in the Ninety-fourth Congress, and jumped to over 8 pages in the Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Congresses and over 9 pages in the Ninety-seventh. The average fell back to 7 pages in 1983, but the numbers are still dramatically higher than in past years. The private bills enacted have also declined substantially in number but, in contrast to public bills, have not changed in average length.

Actions of Congress, in votes and laws, affect the workload, job difficulty, and output of the federal executive as well. Table 6-5 shows the number of pages in the *Federal Register* per year since 1966, along with those of some earlier years for comparison. As the average length of statutes increased in Congress in the 1970s, the number of pages in the *Federal Register*—which among other things displays regulations mandated by these statutes—jumped correspondingly. In 1981, as deregulation proceeded in the Reagan administration and the number of substantive bills declined, the pages of the *Federal Register* dropped by 27 percent—to the level of 1977–1978, at the beginning of the Carter administration. They have dropped further since, stabilizing at a level of about 58,000 pages per year—comparable to the numbers in the Ford administration but dramatically higher than in earlier presidencies.

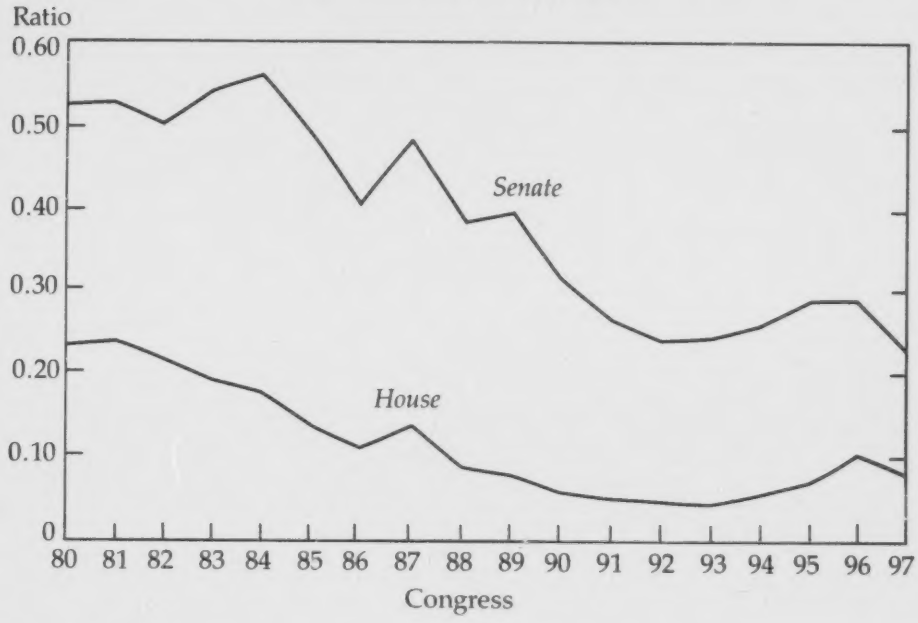
Table 6-6 shows that the amount of franked mail generated by

Congress has increased tremendously since the 1960s, lately averaging nearly 400 million pieces per year, or nearly 800,000 pieces per legislator (see table 5–11 for costs). This reached a record 581.7 million pieces in the election year of 1982—well over a million pieces per legislator—then receded to 420 million in 1983. Note, of course, the regular increases in election years and the decline in off years and the higher numbers in nonpresidential election years.

As table 6–7 shows, figures on incoming mail are not wholly consistent or reliable. Nevertheless, recent trends are interesting—especially the dramatic increase in letters to the House of Representatives, after several years of relative stability, in 1981. No comparable increase occurred in the Senate. One obvious explanation is the heavy focus on President Reagan's economic program and the three pivotal 1981 vote battles in the House. Each resulted in heavy mail, breaking previous records in several instances. Numbers declined to more regular levels in the House in 1982, but at the same time increased substantially in the Senate.

FIGURE 6-1

RATIO OF BILLS PASSED TO BILLS INTRODUCED, 80TH-97TH CONGRESSES, 1947-1982



SOURCE: Tables 6-1 and 6-2.

TABLE 6-1

HOUSE WORKLOAD, 80TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1947-1983

Congress	Bills Introduced[a]	Average No. of Bills introduced per Member	Bills Passed	Ratio of Bills Passed to Bills Introduced	Recorded Votes	Time in Session		Hours per Day in Session	Committee, Subcommittee Meetings[b]
						Days	Hours		
80th (1947–48)	7,611	17.5	1,739	0.228	159	254	1,224	4.8	n.a.
81st (1949–50)	10,502	24.1	2,482	0.236	275	345	1,501	4.4	n.a.
82d (1951–52)	9,065	20.8	2,008	0.222	181	274	1,163	4.2	n.a.
83d (1953–54)	10,875	25.0	2,129	0.196	147	240	1,033	4.3	n.a.
84th (1955–56)	13,169	30.3	2,360	0.179	147	230	937	4.1	3,210
85th (1957–58)	14,580	33.5	2,064	0.142	193	276	1,147	4.2	3,750
86th (1959–60)	14,112	32.4	1,636	0.116	180	265	1,039	3.9	3,059
87th (1961–62)	14,328	32.9	1,927	0.134	240	304	1,227	4.0	3,402
88th (1963–64)	14,022	32.2	1,267	0.090	232	334	1,251	3.7	3,596
89th (1965–66)	19,874	45.7	1,565	0.079	394	336	1,547	4.6	4,367
90th (1967–68)	22,060	50.7	1,213	0.055	478	328	1,595	4.9	4,386
91st (1969–70)	21,436	49.3	1,130	0.053	443	350	1,613	4.6	5,066
92d (1971–72)	18,561	42.7	970	0.052	649	298	1,429	4.8	5,114
93d (1973–74)	18,872	43.4	923	0.049	1,078	318	1,487	4.7	5,888

(Table continues)

TABLE 6-1 (continued)

Congress	Bills Introduced[a]	Average No. of Bills Introduced per Member	Bills Passed	Ratio of Bills Passed to Bills Introduced	Recorded Votes	Time in Session		Hours per Day in Session	Committee, Subcommittee Meetings[b]
						Days	Hours		
94th (1975–76)	16,982	39.0	968	0.057	1,273	311	1,788	5.7	6,975
95th (1977–78)	15,587	35.8	1,027	0.066	1,540	323	1,898	5.9	6,771
96th (1979–80)	9,103	20.9	929	0.102	1,276	326	1,876	5.8	7,022
97th (1981–82)	8,094	18.6	704	0.087	812	303	1,420	4.7	6,179
98th, 1st session (1983)	5,020	11.5	399	0.079	498	146	852	5.8	2,638

NOTE: n.a. = not available.

a. All bills and joint resolutions introduced.

b. Figures do not include the House Appropriations Committee for the Eighty-fourth to Eighty-eighth congresses. House Appropriations included in the subsequent congresses numbered 584 in the Eighty-ninth Congress, 705 in the Ninetieth, 709 in the Ninety-first, 854 in the Ninety-second, and 892 in the Ninety-third.

SOURCES: Arthur G. Stevens, "Indicators of Congressional Workload and Activity," Congressional Research Service, May 30, 1979. Updated for Ninety-sixth Congress: U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record—Daily Digest*, "Resume of Congressional Activity," vol. 126, no. 180, December 30, 1980. For 1981: U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record—Daily Digest*, "Resume of Congressional Activity," vol. 127, no. 188, pt. 3, December 16, 1981. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

TABLE 6-2

SENATE WORKLOAD, 80TH-98TH CONGRESSES, 1947-1983

Congress	Bills Introduced[a]	Average No. of Bills Introduced per Member	Bills Passed	Ratio of Bills Passed to Bills Introduced	Recorded Votes	Time in Session		Hours per Day in Session	Committee, Subcommittee Meetings
						Days	Hours		
80th (1947–48)	3,186	33.2	1,670	0.524	248	257	1,462	5.7	n.a.
81st (1949–50)	4,486	46.7	2,362	0.527	455	389	2,410	6.2	n.a.
82d (1951–52)	3,665	38.2	1,849	0.505	331	287	1,648	5.7	n.a.
83d (1953–54)	4,077	42.5	2,231	0.547	270	294	1,962	6.7	n.a.
84th (1955–56)	4,518	47.1	2,550	0.564	224	224	1,362	6.1	2,607
85th (1957–58)	4,532	47.2	2,202	0.486	313	271	1,876	6.9	2,748
86th (1959–60)	4,149	42.3	1,680	0.405	422	280	2,199	7.9	2,271
87th (1961–62)	4,048	40.5	1,953	0.482	434	323	2,164	6.7	2,532
88th (1963–64)	3,457	34.6	1,341	0.388	541	375	2,395	6.4	2,493
89th (1965–66)	4,129	41.3	1,636	0.396	497	345	1,814	5.3	2,889
90th (1967–68)	4,400	44.0	1,376	0.313	595	358	1,961	5.5	2,892
91st (1969–70)	4,867	48.7	1,271	0.261	667	384	2,352	6.1	3,264

(Table continues)

TABLE 6–2 (continued)

Congress	Bills Introduced[a]	Average No. of Bills Introduced per Member	Bills Passed	Ratio of Bills Passed to Bills Introduced	Recorded Votes	Time in Session		Hours per Day in Session	Committee, Subcommittee Meetings
						Days	Hours		
92d (1971–72)	4,408	44.1	1,035	0.235	955	348	2,294	6.6	3,559
93d (1973–74)	4,524	45.2	1,115	0.246	1,138	334	2,028	6.1	4,067
94th (1975–76)	4,114	41.1	1,038	0.252	1,290	320	2,210	6.9	4,265
95th (1977–78)	3,800	38.0	1,070	0.282	1,151	337	2,510	7.4	3,960
96th (1979–80)	3,480	34.8	977	0.281	1,028	333	2,324	7.0	3,790
97th (1981–82)	3,396	34.0	803	0.236	952	312	2,158	6.9	3,236
98th, 1st session (1983)	2,407	24.0	390	0.162	381	150	1,007	6.7	1,566

NOTE: n.a. = not available.

a. All bills and joint resolutions introduced.

SOURCES: Stevens, "Indicators of Congressional Workload and Activity." Updated for Ninety-sixth Congress: Same as note in table 6–1. For 1981: Same as note in table 6–1. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* annual volumes.

TABLE 6-3

Recorded Votes in the House and the Senate, 1947–1983

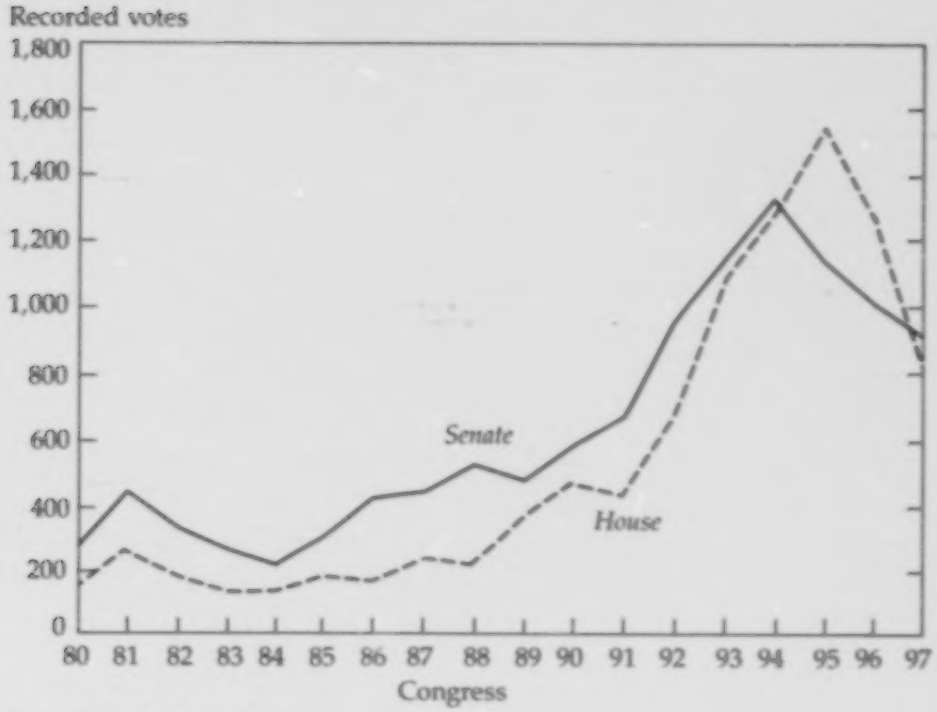
Year	*House*	*Senate*
1947	84	138
1948	75	110
1949	121	226
1950	154	229
1951	109	202
1952	72	129
1953	71	89
1954	76	181
1955	73	88
1956	74	136
1957	100	111
1958	93	202
1959	87	215
1960	93	207
1961	116	207
1962	124	227
1963	119	229
1964	113	312
1965	201	259
1966	193	238
1967	245	315
1968	233	280[a]
1969	177	245
1970	266	422
1971	320	423
1972	329	532
1973	541	594
1974	537	544
1975	612	602
1976	661	688
1977	706	635
1978	834	516
1979	672	497
1980	604	531
1981	353	483
1982	459	465
1983	498	381

a. This figure does not include one yea-and-nay vote that was ruled invalid for lack of a quorum.

SOURCE: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, annual volumes.

FIGURE 6-2

RECORDED VOTES IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE, 80TH - 97TH CONGRESSES, 1947-1982



SOURCE: Tables 6-1 and 6-2.

TABLE 6-4

Congressional Workload, 80th-98th Congresses, 1947-1983

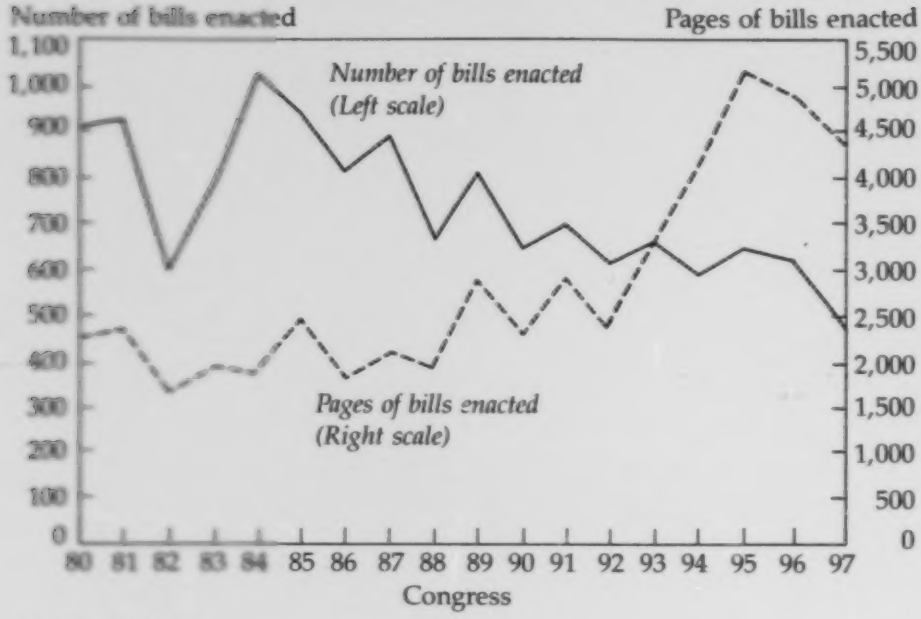
Congress	*Public Bills*			*Private Bills*		
	No. of bills enacted	Pages of bills enacted	Pages per statute	No. of bills enacted	Pages of bills enacted	Pages per statute
80th (1947-48)	906	2,236	2.5	458	182	0.40
81st (1949-50)	921	2,314	2.5	1,103	417	0.38
82d (1951-52)	594	1,585	2.7	1,023	360	0.35
83d (1953-54)	781	1,899	2.4	1,002	365	0.36
84th (1955-56)	1,028	1,848	1.8	893	364	0.41
85th (1957-58)	936	2,435	2.6	784	349	0.45
86th (1959-60)	800	1,774	2.2	492	201	0.41
87th (1961-62)	885	2,078	2.3	684	255	0.37
88th (1963-64)	666	1,975	3.0	360	144	0.40
89th (1965-66)	810	2,912	3.6	473	188	0.40
90th (1967-68)	640	2,304	3.6	362	128	0.35
91st (1969-70)	695	2,927	4.2	246	104	0.42
92d (1971-72)	607	2,330	3.8	161	67	0.42
93d (1973-74)	649	3,443	5.3	123	48	0.39
94th (1975-76)	588	4,121	7.0	141	75	0.53
95th (1977-78)	633	5,403	8.5	170	60	0.35
96th (1979-80)	613	4,947	8.1	123	63	0.51
97th (1981-82)	473	4,343	9.2	56	n.a.	n.a.
98th, 1st session (1983)	215	1,479	6.9	6	n.a.	n.a.

n.a. = not available.

Sources: Stevens, "Indicators of Congressional Workload and Activity." Updated with *U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News*, February 1982, 1983, 1984 (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.).

FIGURE 6-3

PUBLIC BILLS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL WORKLOAD, 80TH-97TH CONGRESSES, 1947-1982



SOURCE: Table 6-4.

TABLE 6-5

PAGES IN THE FEDERAL REGISTER, 1936-1983

Year	Pages	Year	Pages
1936	2,355	1974	45,422
1946	14,736	1975	60,221
1956	10,528	1976	57,072
1966	16,850	1977	63,629
1967	21,087	1978	61,261
1968	20,068	1979	77,497
1969	20,464	1980	87,012
1970	20,032	1981	63,554
1971	25,442	1982	58,493
1972	28,920	1983	57,703
1973	35,586		

SOURCE: Inspection of bound volumes of the *Federal Register* by Harvey Mansfield, January 17, 1980; updated by authors.

TABLE 6-6

CONGRESSIONAL MAILINGS, 1954–1983

Fiscal Year	*Millions of Pieces*	*Increase or Decrease (–) (percent)*
1954	43.5	—
1955	45.6	4.8
1956	58.2	27.6
1957	59.6	2.4
1958	65.4	9.7
1959	86.5	32.3
1960	108.0	24.9
1961	85.1	–21.2
1962	110.1	29.4
1963	94.7	–14.0
1964	110.5	16.7
1965	120.9	9.4
1966	197.5	63.4
1967	192.9	–2.3
1968	178.2	–7.6
1969	190.0	6.6
1970	201.0	5.8
1971	238.4	18.6
1972	308.9	29.6
1973	310.6	0.6
1974	321.0	3.3
1975	312.4	–2.7
1976	401.4	28.5
Transition quarter	159.9	—
1977	293.3	–26.9
1978	430.2	46.7
1979	409.9	–4.7
1980	511.3	24.7
1981	395.6	–22.6
1982	581.7	47.0
1983	422.6	–27.4

SOURCES: U.S. House, Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1980.* For 1978: U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings, Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1980,* 96th Congress, 1st session, pt. 2, p. 1593. For 1979: U.S. Congress, House, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, *Hearings, Legislative Branch Appropriations for 1981,* 96th Congress, 2d session, pt. 2, p. 189. For 1980–1981: Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. For 1982–1983: Office of the Postmaster, House of Representatives.

7
Budgeting

The Constitution gives Congress the power to levy taxes and to appropriate money. Accordingly, the executive branch can raise and spend money only to the extent and in the manner authorized by Congress. In addition to its taxing and appropriating power, Congress makes financial decisions through its authorizations and budget processes. The authorizations process is anchored in the rules of the House (and, to a lesser extent, those of the Senate), which require that agencies and programs be authorized in law before funds are appropriated for them. The budget process was established by the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, which provided that Congress adopt two budget resolutions each year to coordinate the numerous fiscal decisions made in separate revenue, spending, and debt legislation. In recent years, however, Congress has adopted only a single budget resolution.

Budget Resolutions

Since the inception of the congressional budget process, voting on the resolutions has reflected a sharp split in the House between the Democratic and Republican parties. Table 7-1 shows remarkable Republican cohesion, with few members breaking party ranks. During the 1976–1981 fiscal years, approximately 95 percent of the House Republicans voted against adoption of the budget resolutions. For the fiscal 1982 and 1983 budgets, however, the Republicans (despite their minority status in the House) gained control of the budget process, and most of them voted in favor of budget resolutions supported by Republican President Ronald Reagan. When they lost control of the fiscal 1984 resolution, the Republicans reverted to opposition.

Because House Democrats have not been as united as the Republicans, the latter have sometimes prevailed on budget resolutions. At various times Democrats from both the liberal and the conservative wings of the party have opposed the position taken by most of their colleagues. Nevertheless, during the 1976–1981 fiscal years, House

Democrats supplied sufficient votes to pass the budget resolutions, though on two occasions (the first resolution for fiscal 1978 and the second resolution for fiscal 1980) only after the initial version was rejected. In voting on the 1982 and 1983 budget resolutions, most House Democrats opposed the president's position and, when their view was rejected, voted against adoption of the budget resolutions.

Until the 1982 fiscal year, the Senate displayed a different voting pattern, a bipartisan coalition of Republicans and Democrats ensuring passage of the resolutions by a wide margin (table 7-2). The two parties were polarized on the 1982 and 1983 budgets, and in both years a majority of Senate Democrats voted against approval of the budget resolution. Growing Democratic opposition was matched by increasing Republican support for the resolutions. The party split has made it just about as difficult to pass budget resolutions in the Senate as in the House, and in two of the last three years for which data are reported in table 7-2, the margin of approval in the Senate was a single vote.

In voting on the budget resolutions, Congress goes on record with respect to key budget aggregates (total revenues, budget authority, outlays, and deficit) and functional allocations. Table 7-3 compares congressional decisions on the aggregates with presidential budget recommendations and with the actual results for each fiscal year from 1976 through 1981. During the early years of the budget process, actual spending and the deficit tended to be below those set by Congress in its budget resolutions. For the 1980-1983 period, however, the final results showed higher spending and bigger deficits than those endorsed by Congress in its initial resolution for the fiscal year.

Congressional Control of the Budget

Although Congress holds the power of the purse, its ability to exercise this power effectively has been hampered by the rise of uncontrollable spending. During fiscal years 1967-1984 "relatively uncontrollable" outlays soared from less than $100 billion to more than $600 billion and from less than 60 percent of total outlays to approximately 75 percent (table 7-4).

Most uncontrollables are in the form of entitlements: provisions of law that mandate payments to eligible recipients. Most entitlements are open-ended and cannot be controlled through budgetary or appropriations actions. Moreover, many entitlements are indexed to the rate of inflation, so that payments are adjusted to increases in the cost of living without congressional action. Entitlements can be brought under control by changing the substantive laws mandating the payments. One of the main purposes of the reconciliation process used by

Congress since 1980 has been to reduce certain entitlements so as to bring expenditures for them into line with congressional budget decisions.

The Appropriations Process

A budget resolution is advisory. No funds can be spent by government agencies pursuant to the amounts set in a resolution. The actual provision of funds occurs in appropriation bills, of which there are thirteen regular bills and a number of supplemental measures each year.

The Appropriations committees see themselves as guardians of the Treasury, a role that is reflected in their determination to appropriate less money than has been requested by the president. Table 7–5, drawn from the official records of the House Appropriations Committee, shows that in virtually every year the total appropriated is below the president's budget request. These figures do not include permanent appropriations (which are not reviewed by the Appropriations committees) or "backdoor" authority provided in other legislation.

Although the Appropriations committees provide less money than the president requests, they also enact sizable supplemental appropriations each year (table 7–6). Indeed, the number of supplemental bills and their amounts have been higher since the congressional budget process was introduced. Supplemental appropriations are made for a number of reasons: to provide for agencies not funded in the regular appropriation bills, to pay for the salary increases of federal employees, to supplement the funds for agencies facing a deficiency, and to finance new or expanded programs.

Historically, budget cutting has been concentrated in the House, which, under longstanding precedent, considers appropriation bills before they are taken up by the Senate. This role depends in substantial measure on the ability of the House Appropriations Committee to protect its bills against floor amendments to provide additional funds. But, as table 7–7 shows, there has been a steady rise during the past two decades in both the number of amendments proposed and the number agreed to by the House.

One important factor in this upward trend was the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, which provided for recorded votes in the committee of the whole, where most House action on appropriation bills (and other measures) takes place. Another reason for the increase in floor amendments has been the practice of attaching "limitations" to appropriation bills. Although the rules bar the insertion of legislation in such bills, limitations that restrict the use of appropriated funds are permissible. The House adopted three times as many limit-

ing amendments in the 1970s as it did in the 1960s. Some of the most contentious issues of recent times, such as U.S. policy in Vietnam, school busing, and abortions, have been considered as limitations in appropriation bills.

Although the data in Table 7–7 do not show it yet, there is likely to be a downturn in the number of limiting amendments because of a change in rules adopted by the House at the start of the Ninety-eighth Congress in 1983. The new rule makes it easier for the House to avoid consideration of these amendments, but if a House majority wants to do so, it can still use appropriation bills as an effective means of controlling government policy by limiting the use of appropriated funds.

The Congressional Budget Act of 1974 established a timetable designed to ensure enactment of all regular appropriation bills by October 1, when the new fiscal year starts. Despite the legislative schedule, Congress has had increasing difficulty in completing its work on regular appropriation bills by the start of the fiscal year. As a consequence, it has been compelled to provide stopgap funding through continuing appropriations, as table 7–8 shows. Except for fiscal year 1977, when the new congressional budget process and its timetable effectively prodded Congress to complete its appropriations work on schedule, it has been necessary to rely on continuing appropriations. In fiscal 1980 only three of the thirteen regular appropriation bills were enacted by the start of the fiscal year; for fiscal 1981 only one regular appropriation bill was enacted; none of these bills had been enacted into law when fiscal 1982 began. The record improved slightly in subsequent years, with one bill enacted by the start of fiscal 1983 and four bills by the start of fiscal 1984.

The Budgetary Work of Congress

To an extraordinary degree, the business of Congress is related to the budget. Tables 7–9 and 7–10 show a steep increase between 1955 and 1982 in the number of House and Senate roll calls dealing with budgetary issues. Budget-related votes include all roll calls on appropriation bills, tax legislation (other than tax treaties and tariffs), budget resolutions, and reconciliation bills, as well as votes pertaining to the level of authorizations.

The number of budget-related votes has escalated in both Houses during the past quarter of a century. With the exception of the most recent year (1982) for which data are available, the trend in the Senate has been uninterruptedly upward. The pattern has been more variable in the House, where the number of roll call votes increased stead-

ily until 1975 but declined subsequently. The percentage of budget-related votes, however, has fluctuated less in the House (between 45 and 55 percent) than in the Senate (between 41 and 71 percent). Differences in the rules and procedures of the two chambers (such as the availability of a closed rule in the House but not in the Senate) largely account for the differing trends.

One interesting pattern that emerges from the data in tables 7-9 and 7-10 is that despite the establishment of the congressional budget process, Congress still gives a great deal of attention to authorizations, appropriations, and tax legislation. Congressional budget activity was extraordinary during the 1981 session, which coincided with Ronald Reagan's first year in office. The new president organized his domestic agenda around the federal budget and called for major changes in economic policies and spending priorities. Inevitably, therefore, Congress increased its budget activity. In subsequent years, budget activity was more normal, though still quite high compared with the levels of the 1950s and 1960s.

Rescissions and Deferrals

One of the key purposes of the congressional budget process is to ensure that congressional spending priorities prevail when they are in conflict with those of the president. To achieve this end, the Impoundment Control Act established procedures for congressional review of presidential proposals to defer or rescind funds provided by Congress. When a president proposes rescission, Congress has a forty-five-day period during which it can pass a bill rescinding the funds; if Congress fails to act during this period, the president is required to make the funds available for expenditure.

Table 7-11 shows that the use of the rescission process varies sharply from year to year. In 1975 and 1976 President Ford proposed billions of dollars in rescissions, but Congress actually rescinded less than 10 percent of the amount. During the Carter administration, rescissions dropped sharply. Reagan resorted to rescissions to implement his budget policy, however, and 90 percent of the amount he proposed to rescind in fiscal 1981 was approved by Congress. The approval rate dropped substantially, however, in later years.

When a president proposes deferrals, either the House or the Senate can approve an "impoundment resolution" compelling the release of the affected funds. The constitutional status of this procedure has been called into question by the June 1983 decision of the Supreme Court that invalidated all legislative vetoes. Congress usually disapproves only a small portion of the deferrals submitted by the president.

TABLE 7-1

House Votes on Adoption of Budget Resolutions, by Party, Fiscal Years 1976–1984

Fiscal Year	Resolution	Total		Democrats		Republicans	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1976	First resolution	200	196	197	68	3	128
	Second resolution	225	191	214	67	11	124
1977	First resolution	221	155	208	44	13	111
	Second resolution	227	151	215	38	12	113
	Third resolution	239	169	225	50	14	119
1978	First resolution (first round)	84	320	82	185	2	135
	First resolution (second round)	213	179	206	58	7	121
	Second resolution	199	188	195	59	4	129
1979	First resolution	201	197	198	61	3	136
	Second resolution	217	178	215	42	2	136
1980	First resolution	220	184	211	50	9	134
	Second resolution (first round)	192	213	188	67	4	146
	Second resolution (second round)	212	206	212	52	0	154
	Third resolution[a]	241	174	218	45	23	129
1981	First resolution	225	193	203	62	22	131
	Second resolution	203	191	201	45	2	146
1982	First resolution	270	154	84	153	186	1
	Second resolution	206	200	70	150	136	50
1983	First resolution	219	206	63	174	156	32
1984	First resolution	229	196	225	36	4	160

NOTE: These votes are on passage of the resolutions in the House, not on adoption of the conference report. Beginning with the 1983 fiscal year, Congress has adopted only one budget resolution each year, rather than the two originally prescribed by the Congressional Budget Act.

a. The third resolution for fiscal 1980 was part of the first resolution for the 1981 fiscal year, but it was voted on separately in the House.

SOURCES: *Congressional Record* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 7-2

SENATE VOTES ON ADOPTION OF BUDGET RESOLUTIONS, BY PARTY, FISCAL YEARS 1976–1984

Fiscal Year	Resolution	Total		Democrats		Republicans	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1976	First resolution	69	22	50	4	19	18
	Second resolution	69	23	50	8	19	15
1977	First resolution	62	22	45	6	17	16
	Second resolution	55	23	41	5	14	18
	Third resolution	72	20	55	3	17	17
1978	First resolution	56	31	41	14	15	17
	Second resolution	63	21	46	8	17	13
1979	First resolution	64	27	48	8	16	19
	Second resolution	56	18	42	6	14	12
1980	First resolution	64	20	44	5	20	15
	Second resolution	62	36	45	14	17	22
1981	First resolution	68	28	49	6	19	22
	Second resolution	48	46	33	21	15	25
1982	First resolution	78	20	28	18	50	2
	Second resolution	49	48	2	44	47	4
1983	First resolution	49	43	3	41	46	2
1984	First resolution	50	49	29	17	21	32

NOTE: These votes are on passage of the resolutions in the Senate, not on adoption of the conference report. Beginning with the 1983 fiscal year, Congress has adopted only one budget resolution each year, rather than the two originally prescribed by the Congressional Budget Act.

SOURCES: *Congressional Record* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac.*

TABLE 7–3

BUDGETED AND ACTUAL REVENUES, BUDGET AUTHORITY, OUTLAYS, AND DEFICITS, FISCAL YEARS 1976–1983
(billions of dollars)

	Revenues	*Budget Authority*	*Budget Outlays*	*Budget Deficit*
1976				
President's budget	297.7	385.8	349.4	51.7
First budget resolution	298.2	395.8	367.0	68.8
Second budget resolution	300.8	408.0	374.9	74.1
Actual	300.0	415.3	366.4	66.4
1977				
President's budget	351.3	433.4	394.2	43.0
First budget resolution	362.5	454.2	413.3	50.8
Second budget resolution	362.5	451.6	413.1	50.6
Third budget resolution	347.7	472.9	417.5	69.8
Fourth budget resolution	356.6	470.2	409.2	52.6
Actual	357.8	464.4	402.7	44.9
1978				
Ford budget	393.0	480.4	440.0	47.0
Carter budget	401.6	507.3	459.4	57.8
First budget resolution	396.3	503.5	461.0	64.7
Second budget resolution	397.0	500.1	458.3	61.3
Actual	402.0	500.4	450.8	48.8
1979				
President's budget	439.6	568.2	500.2	60.6
First budget resolution	447.9	568.9	498.8	50.9
Second budget resolution	448.7	555.7	487.5	38.8
Third budget resolution	461.0	559.2	494.5	33.5
Actual	465.9	556.7	493.6	27.7
1980				
President's budget	502.6	615.5	531.6	29.0
First budget resolution	509.0	604.4	532.0	23.0
Second budget resolution	517.8	638.0	547.6	29.8
Third budget resolution	525.7	658.9	572.7	47.0
Actual	520.0	658.8	579.6	59.6

TABLE 7-3 (continued)

	Revenues	*Budget Authority*	*Budget Outlays*	*Budget Deficit*
1981				
President's budget	600.0	696.1	615.8	15.8
Revised budget	628.0	691.3	611.5	−16.5
First budget resolution	613.8	697.2	613.6	−0.2
Second budget resolution	605.0	694.6	632.4	27.4
Third budget resolution	603.3	717.5	661.4	58.1
Actual	599.3	718.4	657.2	57.9
1982				
Carter budget	711.8	809.8	739.3	27.5
Reagan budget	650.3	772.4	695.3	45.0
Budget resolution	657.8	770.9	695.5	37.7
Revised resolution	628.4	777.7	734.1	105.7
Actual	617.8	779.9	728.4	110.6
1983				
President's budget	666.1	801.9	757.6	91.5
Budget resolution	665.9	822.4	769.8	103.9
Actual	600.6	866.7	796.0	195.4

SOURCE: Congressional Budget Office.

TABLE 7-5

President's Budget Requests and Congressional Appropriations, 1968–1982
(thousands of dollars)

Year	*Budget Requests*	*Appropriations*	*Appropriations Compared with Requests*
1968	147,908,613	133,339,869	-14,568,744
1969	142,701,346	134,431,463	-8,269,883
1970	147,765,358	144,273,529	-3,491,830
1971	167,874,625	165,225,662	-2,648,963
1972	185,431,805	178,960,107	-6,471,698
1973	177,959,504	174,901,434	-3,058,070
1974	213,667,190	204,012,312	-9,654,878
1975	267,224,774	259,852,322	-7,372,452
1976	282,142,432	282,536,695	394,263
1977	364,867,240	354,025,781	-10,841,459
1978	348,506,125	337,859,467	-10,646,658
1979	397,653,766	386,822,093	-10,831,673
1980	340,339,447	333,695,164	-6,644,283
1981	440,398,235	442,215,128	1,816,893
1982	507,740,133	514,832,375	7,092,242

NOTE: The years are calendar, not fiscal, years. The amounts shown are for budget authority provided in appropriations acts and do not include permanent appropriations or budget authority provided in legislative acts.

SOURCE: House Committee on Appropriations.

TABLE 7-6

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEARS 1964–1983

Fiscal Year	*Number of Supplemental Bills*[a]	*Amount of Budget Authority*[b] *(millions of dollars)*
1964	1	290
1965	4	5,645
1966	4	21,889
1967	3	19,420
1968	5	8,218
1969	4	5,835
1970	2	5,993
1971	4	9,870
1972	7	11,599
1973	5	11,371
1974	5	14,796
1975	7	27,587
1976	5	24,636
1977	5	49,835
1978	9	16,053
1979	1	13,845
1980	6	19,683
1981	2	20,960
1982	4	27,442
1983	2	31,097

a. The number of supplemental bills does not include regular and continuing appropriations in which supplemental budget authority was provided.

b. The amount of budget authority does include, for fiscal year 1976 and subsequent years, supplementals provided in regular or continuing appropriation bills.

SOURCES: For the 1964–1969 fiscal years: Louis Fisher, *Supplemental Appropriations History, Controls, Recent Record* (Congressional Research Service, April 12, 1979). For the 1970–1980 fiscal years: Congressional Budget Office, *Supplemental Appropriations in the 1970s*, Staff Working Paper, July 1981. For the 1981–1983 fiscal years: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*.

TABLE 7-7

House Amendments to Appropriation Bills, 1963–1982

Year	*Total Amendments*	*Amendments Adopted*	*Limitation Amendments*[a]	*Limitation Amendments Adopted*
1963	47	15	17	7
1964	27	9	11	2
1965	26	9	11	1
1966	56	10	8	1
1967	70	15	16	4
1968	75	24	20	7
1969	89	27	20	10
1970	51	11	13	1
1971	83	34	23	7
1972	89	15	26	5
1973	99	31	31	12
1974	109	53	34	15
1975	106	52	34	12
1976	122	68	33	13
1977	107	54	44	24
1978	135	61	44	25
1979	165	74	52	31
1980	168	100	74	57
1981	143	87	47	33
1982	59	33	21	14

NOTE: The years are calendar, not fiscal, years.

a. Limitation amendments are amendments that bar the use of appropriated funds for specified purposes.

SOURCES: For 1963–1977: Democratic Study Group, Special Report No. 95-12 (February 14, 1978). For 1978–1982: Richard S. Beth, Daniel P. Strickland, and Stanley Bach, "Limitation and Other House Amendments to General Appropriation Bills: Fiscal Years 1979–1983" (Congressional Research Service, December 28, 1982). The two sources may not be completely consistent in their scope and definition of amendments.

TABLE 7-8

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEARS 1972-1984

Fiscal Year	*Regular Appropriation Bills Not Enacted by Start of Fiscal Year*[a]	*Continuing Resolutions Enacted for Fiscal Year*
1972	5	5
1973	4	5
1974	10	2
1975	6	4
1976	11	3
1977[b]	0[c]	2
1978	4	3
1979	8	1
1980	10	2
1981	12	2
1982	13	5
1983	12	2
1984	9	4

a. In calendar year 1976, the start of the fiscal year was changed from July 1 to October 1.

b. Although all regular appropriation bills were enacted by the start of the fiscal year, continuing appropriations were needed for certain items not provided for in these bills.

c. The appropriation was signed into law on the first day of the fiscal year.

SOURCES: Robert A. Keith, "An Overview of the Use of Continuing Appropriations" (Congressional Research Service, September 26, 1980); Congressional Budget Office, "Consideration of Appropriation Bills" (unpublished memorandum, August 21, 1979); data for the 1980-1984 fiscal years are taken from the House calendars.

TABLE 7-9

BUDGET-RELATED ROLL CALL VOTES IN THE HOUSE, SELECTED YEARS, 1955–1982

Measure	*1955*	*1960*	*1965*	*1970*	*1975*	*1980*	*1981*	*1982*
Authorizations	27	28	78	77	147	105	70	71
Appropriations	6	16	21	39	94	111	85	79
Tax legislation	3	3	3	1	48	14	7	3
Budget resolutions	—	—	—	—	12	30	13	36
Reconciliation bills	—	—	—	—	—	6	12	18
Debt ceilings	1	2	2	2	11	7	2	0
Miscellaneous	0	1	0	2	8	4	7	8
Total budget-related roll calls	37	50	104	121	320	277	196	215
Total roll calls	76	93	201	266	612	604	353	459
Percentage budget-related	49	54	52	45	52	46	56	47

SOURCE: Allen Schick, "Legislation, Appropriations, and Budgets: The Development of Spending Decision-Making in Congress" (Congressional Research Service, 1984).

TABLE 7-10

BUDGET-RELATED ROLL CALL VOTES IN THE SENATE, SELECTED YEARS, 1955–1982

Measure	*1955*	*1960*	*1965*	*1970*	*1975*	*1980*	*1981*	*1982*
Authorizations	22	48	87	83	96	82	55	31
Appropriations	12	28	27	77	87	128	130	109
Tax legislation	2	10	10	6	48	10	56	30
Budget resolutions	—	—	—	—	8	50	26	35
Reconciliation bills	—	—	—	—	—	4	63	18
Debt ceilings	0	2	1	3	3	6	12	19
Miscellaneous	1	0	0	1	4	3	2	30
Total budget-related roll calls	37	88	125	170	246	283	344	272
Total roll calls	87	207	258	418	602	531	483	465
Percentage budget-related	43	43	48	41	41	53	71	58

SOURCE: Schick, "Legislation, Appropriations, and Budgets."

TABLE 7–4

RELATIVELY UNCONTROLLABLE FEDERAL OUTLAYS UNDER PRESENT LAW, FISCAL YEARS 1967–1984
(billions of dollars)

Fiscal Year	*Social Security and Other Retirement*	*Medical Care*	*Other Payments to Individuals*	*Net Interest*	*Outlays from Prior Obligations*	*Other Uncontrollables*	*Total Uncontrollables*	*Percent Budget Uncontrollable*
1967	26.3	4.6	10.7	10.3	37.0	4.7	93.5	59.1
1968	29.1	7.2	11.4	11.1	42.3	6.2	107.3	60.0
1969	33.1	8.9	12.9	12.4	41.9	6.9	116.1	63.1
1970	36.9	9.9	15.4	14.4	41.5	7.6	125.7	64.0
1971	43.8	11.2	22.3	14.8	40.2	8.0	140.4	66.4
1972	49.2	13.4	25.8	15.5	39.2	10.4	153.5	66.2
1973	63.6	14.1	18.3	17.3	41.4	13.9	168.6	68.7

1974	72.5	17.2	21.4	21.4	46.0	11.9	190.4	70.8
1975	86.7	21.6	34.3	23.2	53.3	9.3	228.4	70.4
1976	97.2	26.3	43.5	26.7	53.7	10.1	257.5	70.7
1977	111.5	31.4	39.6	29.9	58.8	12.4	283.5	70.8
1978	122.8	35.9	36.9	35.4	76.9	15.8	323.7	72.2
1979	136.7	41.6	46.5	42.6	85.3	12.0	364.7	72.3
1980	156.5	49.0	47.0	52.5	103.2	16.2	424.4	73.6
1981	183.7	59.3	51.5	68.7	108.6	13.2	485.0	73.8
1982	201.8	65.6	53.2	85.0	121.5	15.1	542.1	74.4
1983	219.1	73.5	61.2	89.8	128.7	21.3	593.6	74.6
1984 (est.)	229.6	83.8	50.4	108.2	153.6	7.1	632.6	74.1

NOTE: From time to time the Office of Management and Budget reclassifies or redefines uncontrollables; hence the figures in this table may not be consistent with those published in some budget documents.

SOURCES: For the 1967–1972 fiscal years: *The Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1977*, table 16. For the 1973–1981 fiscal years: *The Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1983*. For 1982 and subsequent fiscal years: *The Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1985*, table 20.

TABLE 7-11

RESCISSIONS AND DEFERRALS, FISCAL YEARS 1975–1984

	Rescissions				
Fiscal Year	Number	Amount proposed ($ thousand)	Amount approved ($ thousand)	Amount rescinded (percent)	Proposals approved (wholly or in part) (percent)
1975	91	3,328,500	391,295	12	43
1976[a]	50	3,608,363	,138,331	4	14
1977	21	1,835,602	1,271,040	69	48
1978	8	644,055	55,255	9	38
1979	11	908,692	723,609	80	80
1980	59	1,618,061	778,127	48	58
1981	208	16,204,936	14,509,878	90	67
1982	34	9,484,941	5,974,966	63	21
1983	21	1,569,015	0	0	0
1984	12	666,411	58,000	9	17

(Table continues)

TABLE 7-11 (continued)

	Deferrals					
Fiscal Year	Number	Amount proposed ($ thousand)	Amount disapproved ($ thousand)	Number of deferrals disapproved	Amount disapproved (percent)	Deferrals disapproved (percent)
1975	159	24,574,236	9,318,217	16	38	10
1976[a]	119	9,209,780	393,081	24[b]	4	20
1977	68	6,831,194	25,600	3	0.4	4
1978	66	4,910,114	69,531	6	1	9
1979	70	4,696,056	13,852	2	0.3	3
1980	73	9,846,235	3,663,448	2	37	3
1981	119	7,535,493	367,359	15	5	13
1982	258	7,562,078	386,347	15	5	6
1983	86	9,957,186	4,119,590	16	41	19
1984	59	4,443,025	2,050	1	0.0	2

NOTE: Data for fiscal year 1984 as of May 7 1984.

a. Fiscal 1976 data include the transition quarter. A proposal to rescind or defer funds in both fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter is counted as a single proposal.

b. Two fiscal 1976 deferrals that were disapproved by both the House and the Senate are counted here once.

SOURCE: Tabulated from House Appropriations Committee data.

8
Voting Alignments

Three important elements of voting on the floor of the House and the Senate are support for the president, the cohesion of the parties, and the strength of the ideological coalitions that cut across party lines. This chapter provides a description of the dynamics of these forces in congressional decision making since the 1950s, using the measures compiled annually by *Congressional Quarterly*.

Presidential Success and Support

Table 8–1 and figure 8–1 show the annual percentages of presidential victories on votes on which the president took clear-cut positions. *Congressional Quarterly* determines what the president wants in the way of legislative action by analyzing his messages to Congress, press conference remarks, and other public statements and documents. The measure combines the significant and the trivial, the controversial and the consensual; moreover, it reflects the position of the president at the time of a vote, even though that position may reflect a major concession from an earlier stand.

In spite of these problems, the measure does provide a rough indicator of the state of relations between the president and Congress. Table 8–1 provides an overall success score, as well as the president's success averages in the House and Senate. Presidential success is mainly a function of the number of seats in Congress held by the president's party. When one party controls both branches, success never drops below 75 percent; with divided government, presidents average well below that level of success (Ford, 58.3 percent; Nixon, 64.3 percent; Eisenhower after 1954, 66.5 percent). The anomaly is, of course, 1981, when the Republicans controlled the presidency and the Senate but not the House. Reagan's overall success score of 81.9 percent ranks with presidents whose party has controlled both houses; his score in the Senate places him alongside Eisenhower in 1953 and

Johnson in 1964. In 1982 and 1983, however, Reagan's overall success dropped sharply, entirely because of a collapse of his support in the Democrat-controlled House.

In addition, the scores sometimes reflect sharp partisan swings in the preceding elections. President Eisenhower's score dropped twenty-four percentage points after the Democratic victory in the 1958 elections. President Johnson achieved a modern high of 93 percent in the session following the 1964 elections. And, after his smashing victory in 1980, President Reagan enjoyed a level of support seven percentage points higher than that of his predecessor.

Success rates usually deteriorate over the course of a presidency (Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan), but at times they remain relatively stable (Carter) or even increase (Kennedy).

The base for computing presidential scores varies widely, from a low of thirty-four House votes in 1953 and 1956 to 185 Senate votes in 1973. The average number of votes on which presidents have taken clear-cut positions has increased over time, but the percentage has declined. In 1979 President Carter made his position known on only 22 percent of all House recorded votes and 19 percent of Senate votes. The comparable figures for President Eisenhower's third year are 56 percent in the House and 59 percent in the Senate. While the congressional liaison workload of the White House has increased, so too has the relative independence of the Congress.

Table 8–2 presents presidential support scores (adjusted to remove the effects of absences) for all Democrats, southern Democrats, and Republicans in the House and Senate. Senate Republicans have usually been more supportive of presidents, Republican and Democratic, than their House counterparts. No such consistent pattern is evident among Democrats. Whereas Democrats in the Senate were more supportive of Carter than their party colleagues in the House, the pattern was just the opposite under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. The voting of southern Democrats is at least partly responsible for this change. Among southern Democratic members, President Kennedy fared better in the House than in the Senate, but President Carter received more support among these members in the Senate.

The figures in table 8–2 also make it clear that President Reagan's 1981 successes depended heavily on remarkable support among Republicans, especially in the Senate. Although southern Democrats provided the margin of victory on several important House votes, their overall support for Reagan was not particularly notable. Nonetheless, continued support among Republicans in 1982 and 1983 was not sufficient to blunt the effects of a sharp drop in support for his proposals among Democrats.

Party Unity

One important component of the structure of congressional voting is party-line voting. Table 8–3 presents for both the House and the Senate the percentage of all recorded votes on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. In the House that trend has been downward, beginning with Johnson's troubles with the war in Vietnam. Under Presidents Nixon and Ford, about 35 percent of all roll call votes produced a party split, down from an average of nearly 50 percent under President Eisenhower. The number rose to 40 percent during Carter's four years in office and then dropped back to 37 percent in Reagan's first year. By 1983, however, voting in the House had taken on a distinctively partisan cast. The percentage of party votes in the House reached its highest point since 1957.

There also appears to be an election year cycle in these figures, especially in recent years. The percentage of party votes increases in off years and declines in subsequent election years. This may reflect the efforts of congressional leaders during election years to avoid sharply partisan votes that may hurt members back home.

The Senate figures on party voting in table 8–3 are less patterned than the House figures. The percentage of party votes was higher under Presidents Carter and Reagan than under any recent president except Kennedy.

Table 8–4 presents the other information needed to gauge the level of party voting: the cohesion of the parties on those votes that elicit a party split. Party unity among Democrats declined after the Kennedy and the early Johnson years, more so in the House (about ten percentage points) than in the Senate (about five percentage points). A decline in party unity was also registered among Republicans during this period, although in the House they appear to have turned the corner by the late 1970s and in the Senate they rebounded in 1981 to a very high 85 percent. In 1983 party cohesion among House Democrats jumped ahead of the Republicans to 82 percent, its highest level since 1964.

However important this recent decline in party voting or the 1981 resurgence, it pales in significance when compared with the long-term decline in party voting. During the years 1890–1910, two-thirds of all votes evoked a party split, and in several sessions more than half the roll calls found 90 percent of one party opposing 90 percent of the other. Since 1946 the percentage of votes showing such extreme partisan division has not gone above 10 percent.

Conservative Coalition

One reason for the decline in cohesion among the Democrats was the emergence in the late 1930s of a set of issues that brought together southern Democrats and Republicans and pitted them against northern Democrats. Since that time this "conservative coalition" has proved itself a formidable opponent to Democratic presidents.

Table 8–5 shows the percentage of all recorded votes in which the coalition has appeared (a majority of voting southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans oppose the stand taken by a majority of voting northern Democrats). It also shows the percentage of those votes won by the coalition.

Over the past several decades, the conservative coalition has appeared more often in the Senate than in the House, although its record of success is no greater in the Senate. Its percentage of success reached an all-time low in the House during the Eighty-ninth Congress, after the 1964 Democratic landslide, and a modern-day high in 1981, rivaling its record in the 1940s and 1950s.[1] Yet by 1983 it had diminished in importance in both the House and the Senate.

The coalition's success after the 1980 elections was due both to the increase in the number of Republicans in both chambers and to the increasingly conservative cast of Senate Republicans. Conservative coalition support scores (adjusted for absences) for northern Democrats, southern Democrats, and Republicans are presented in table 8–6. There was a steady increase in the degree of support for the coalition among northern Democrats beginning in the early 1970s and running through 1981, but that trend has now been reversed in the House. (By definition, the conservative coalition support of northern Democrats overall cannot exceed 50 percent.) Among southern Democrats, however, support declined after the late 1960s and early 1970s, although 1981 and 1982 saw a temporary increase in support.

Conservative coalition support scores are perhaps most useful for gauging how ideologically representative smaller groups of members are of their party and of the entire chamber. Tables 8–7 and 8–8 present the mean conservative coalition support scores for House and Senate committees between 1959 and 1983. Figures 8–2 and 8–3 show the relative ideological makeup of each committee in 1959, 1977, 1981, and 1983. Scores are presented for all committee members and separately for Democratic and Republican members. Overall scores reflecting the average conservative coalition support among all members in the chamber and in each party caucus provide a view of the relative conservatism of each committee. The absolute scores are less reliable than

the relative standing of the committees and their parent chamber over time.

The ideological makeup of some committees has changed dramatically. The House District of Columbia Committee, one of the most conservative committees in 1959, is now the least conservative. A similar though less dramatic change has occurred in the committees on Rules and on Energy and Commerce. Other committees have not transformed their philosophical base but have moved further toward the ideological poles. Armed Services, always conservative, is now the most conservative major committee in the House; Judiciary, always more liberal than the House, has moved further to the left.

Similar patterns can be discerned for Senate committees in table 8–8, at least before the 1980 elections. Between 1959 and 1979 the Finance and the Appropriations committees moved from right to center, Energy and Public Works from left to center. Armed Services and Agriculture remained more conservative than the Senate; Foreign Relations and Labor continued to be more liberal. In 1981, after the infusion of conservative Republicans from the 1980 elections, the Senate shifted distinctively to the right, upsetting many patterns of behavior, including those of its committees. Every committee shifted in a conservative direction.

There were still nine Senate committees in 1981 more liberal than the average, but two-thirds of these were more conservative than the average in the preceding Congress. Even the liberal Labor and Human Resources Committee had shifted by fifteen points in a more conservative direction and had an average score over fifty for the first time in at least three decades. The change, of course, came from the Republicans, with their great increase in numbers and the greater conservatism of the new members. The Democrats barely changed in ideology from the Ninety-sixth to the Ninety-seventh Congress, averaging in both cases forty-three or forty-four in conservative coalition support. Republican support, however, went up substantially, from an average of seventy-four to an average of eighty-four.

The partisan ideological gap on committees, of course, also grew. As table 8–8 shows, the change was greater on some committees than others but was particularly significant among the committees of greatest prestige, such as Appropriations, Finance, Budget, and Foreign Relations. Some already polarized committees, like Labor and Banking, became even more polarized. Partisan conflict increased also in the important Energy and Environment committees.

By 1983 the entire Senate had shifted slightly toward the center, a change even more pronounced on the Budget and Commerce com-

mittees. Nonetheless, the polarization of the parties on most committees remained.

---

1. John F. Manley, "The Conservative Coalition in Congress," *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1973).

TABLE 8-1

PRESIDENTIAL VICTORIES ON VOTES IN CONGRESS, 1953–1983

President and Year	*House and Senate (%)*	*House (%)*	*No. of Votes*	*Senate (%)*	*No. of Votes*
Eisenhower					
1953	89.2	91.2	34	87.8	49
1954	82.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1955	75.3	63.4	41	84.6	52
1956	69.2	73.5	34	67.7	65
1957	68.4	58.3	60	78.9	57
1958	75.7	74.0	50	76.5	98
1959	52.0	55.5	54	50.4	121
1960	65.1	65.0	43	65.1	86
Average	72.2				
Kennedy					
1961	81.5	83.1	65	80.6	124
1962	85.4	85.0	60	85.6	125
1963	87.1	83.1	71	89.6	115
Average	84.6				
Johnson					
1964	87.9	88.5	52	87.6	97
1965	93.1	93.8	112	92.6	162
1966	78.9	91.3	103	68.8	125
1967	78.8	75.6	127	81.2	165
1968	74.5	83.5	103	68.9	164
Average	82.6				
Nixon					
1969	74.8	72.3	47	76.4	72
1970	76.9	84.6	65	71.4	91
1971	74.8	82.5	57	69.5	82
1972	66.3	81.1	37	54.3	46
1973	50.6	48.0	125	52.4	185
1974	59.6	67.9	53	54.2	83
Average	67.2				
Ford					
1974	58.2	59.3	54	57.4	68
1975	61.0	50.6	89	71.0	93
1976	53.8	43.1	51	64.2	53
Average	57.6				
Carter					
1977	75.4	74.7	79	76.1	88

(Table continues)

TABLE 8–1 (continued)

President and Year	*House and Senate (%)*	*House (%)*	*No. of Votes*	*Senate (%)*	*No. of Votes*
1978	78.3	69.6	112	84.8	151
1979	76.8	71.7	145	81.4	161
1980	75.1	76.9	117	73.3	116
Average	76.4				
Reagan					
1981	81.9	72.4	76	87.5	128
1982	69.1	55.8	77	83.1	119
1983	66.7	47.5	82	85.9	85
Average	72.6				

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Percentages indicate number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president had taken a position.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* vol. 40 (January 2, 1982). Some percentages recalculated.

TABLE 8–2

CONGRESSIONAL VOTING IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION, 1954–1983

(percent)

	House			*Senate*		
President and Year	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans
Eisenhower						
1954	54	n.a.	n.a.	45	n.a.	82
1955	58	n.a.	67	65	n.a.	85
1956	58	n.a.	79	44	n.a.	80
1957	54	n.a.	60	60	n.a.	80
1958	63	n.a.	65	51	n.a.	77
1959	44	n.a.	76	44	n.a.	80
1960	49	n.a.	63	52	n.a.	76
Kennedy						
1961	81	n.a.	41	73	n.a.	42
1962	83	71	47	76	63	48
1963	84	71	36	77	65	52
Johnson						
1964	84	70	42	73	63	52
1965	83	65	46	75	60	55
1966	81	64	45	71	59	53
1967	80	65	51	73	69	63
1968	77	63	39	64	50	57
Nixon						
1969	56	55	65	55	56	74
1970	64	64	79	56	62	74
1971	53	69	79	48	59	76
1972	56	59	74	52	71	77
1973	39	49	67	42	55	70
1974	52	64	71	44	60	65
Ford						
1974	48	52	59	45	55	67
1975	40	48	67	53	67	76
1976	36	52	70	47	61	73
Carter						
1977	69	58	46	77	71	58

TABLE 8–2 (continued)

President and Year	*House*			*Senate*		
	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans
1978	67	54	40	74	61	47
1979	70	58	37	75	66	51
1980	71	63	44	71	69	50
Reagan						
1981	46	60	72	52	63	84
1982	43	55	70	46	57	77
1983	30	45	74	45	46	77

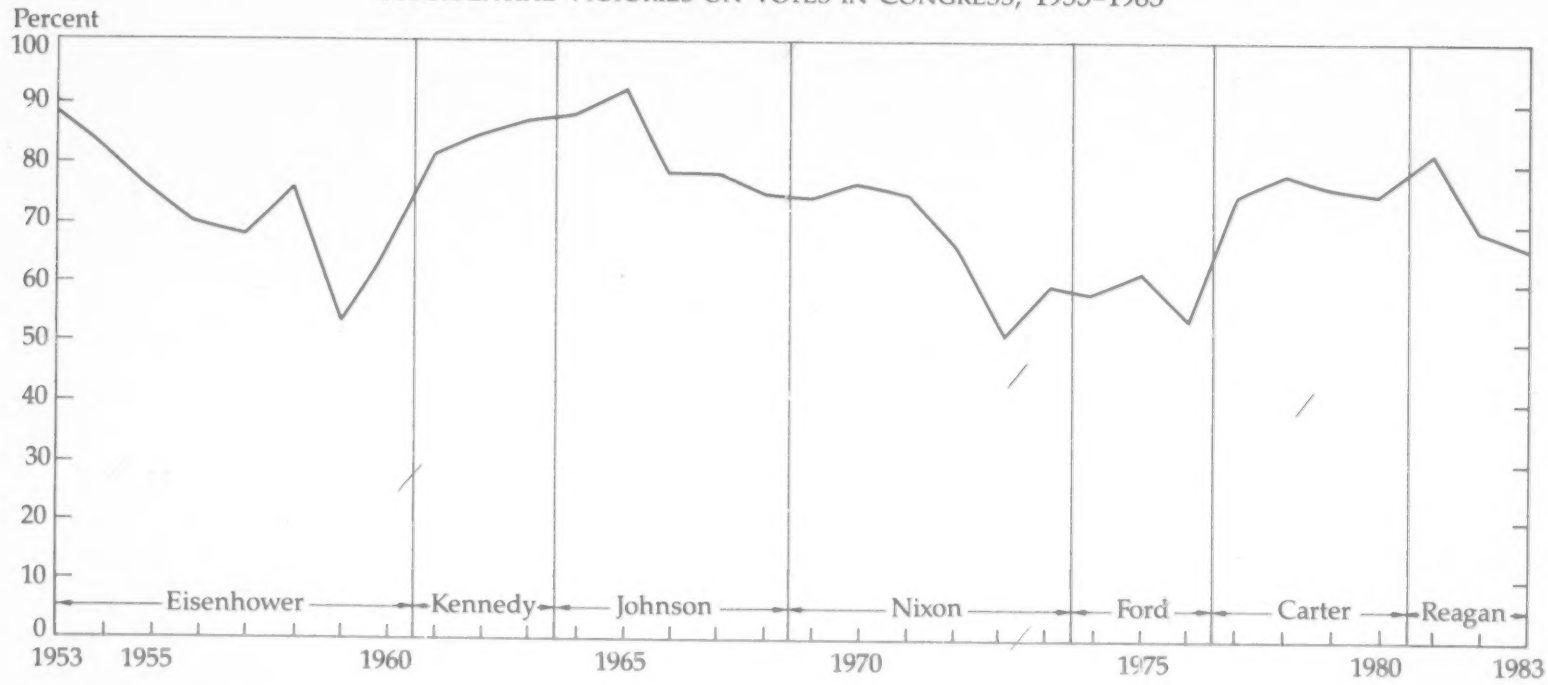
n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Percentages indicate number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president had taken a position. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: support = (support)/(support + opposition).

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* vol. 40 (January 2, 1982).

FIGURE 8-1

PRESIDENTIAL VICTORIES ON VOTES IN CONGRESS, 1953–1983



NOTE: Percentages indicate number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president has taken a position.

SOURCE: Table 8-1.

TABLE 8-3

Party Unity and Polarization in Congressional Voting, 1953–1983

(percentage of all votes)

Year	*House*	*Senate*
1953	52	n.a.
1954	38	47
1955	41	30
1956	44	53
1957	59	36
1958	40	44
1959	55	48
1960	53	37
1961	50	62
1962	46	41
1963	49	47
1964	55	36
1965	52	42
1966	41	50
1967	36	35
1968	35	32
1969	31	36
1970	27	35
1971	38	42
1972	27	36
1973	42	40
1974	29	44
1975	48	48
1976	36	37
1977	42	42
1978	33	45
1979	47	47
1980	38	46
1981	37	48
1982	36	43
1983	56	44

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Data indicate the percentage of all recorded votes on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 40 (January 9, 1982), vol. 41 (January 15, 1983), p. 107, (December 31, 1983), p. 2790.

TABLE 8-4

Party Support and Unity in Congressional Voting, 1954–1983

(percent)

	House			*Senate*		
Year	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans	All Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans
1954	80	n.a.	84	77	n.a.	89
1955	84	68	78	82	78	82
1956	80	79	78	80	75	80
1957	79	71	75	79	81	81
1958	77	67	73	82	76	74
1959	85	77	85	76	63	80
1960	75	62	77	73	60	74
1961	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1962	81	n.a.	80	80	n.a.	81
1963	85	n.a.	84	79	n.a.	79
1964	82	n.a.	81	73	n.a.	75
1965	80	55	81	75	55	78
1966	78	55	82	73	52	78
1967	77	53	82	75	39	73
1968	73	48	76	71	57	74
1969	71	47	71	74	53	72
1970	71	52	72	71	49	71
1971	72	48	76	74	56	75
1972	70	44	76	72	43	73
1973	75	55	74	79	52	74
1974	72	51	71	72	41	68
1975	75	53	78	76	48	71
1976	75	52	75	74	46	72
1977	74	55	77	72	48	75
1978	71	53	77	75	54	66
1979	75	60	79	76	62	73
1980	78	64	79	76	64	74
1981	75	57	80	77	64	85
1982	77	62	76	76	62	80
1983	82	67	80	76	70	79

n.a. = not available.

Note: Data show percentage of members voting with a majority of their party on party unity votes. Party unity votes are those roll calls on which a majority of a party votes on

(Notes continued)

one side of the issue and a majority of the other party votes on the other side. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: party unity ÷ (unity)/(unity + opposition).

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years, and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 40 (January 9, 1982), and vol. 41 (January 15, 1983), p. 188.

TABLE 8–5

Conservative Coalition Votes and Victories in Congress, 1957–1983

(percent)

	House		*Senate*	
Year	Votes	Victories	Votes	Victories
1957	16	81	11	100
1958	15	64	19	86
1959	13	91	19	65
1960	20	35	22	67
1961	30	74	32	48
1962	13	44	15	71
1963	13	67	19	44
1964	11	67	17	47
1965	25	25	24	39
1966	19	32	30	51
1967	22	73	18	54
1968	22	63	25	80
1969	25	71	28	67
1970	17	70	26	64
1971	31	79	28	86
1972	25	79	29	63
1973	25	67	21	54
1974	22	67	30	54
1975	28	52	28	48
1976	17	59	26	58
1977	22	60	29	74
1978	20	57	23	46
1979	21	73	18	65
1980	16	67	20	75
1981	21	88	21	95
1982	16	78	20	90
1983	18	71	12	89

Note: "Votes" is the percentage of all roll call votes on which a majority of voting southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans—the conservative coalition—opposed the stand taken by a majority of voting northern Democrats. "Victories" is the percentage of conservative coalition votes won by the coalition.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 40 (January 9, 1982), and vol. 41 (January 15, 1983), (December 31, 1983).

TABLE 8-6

VOTING IN SUPPORT OF THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION, 1959–1983
(percent)

	House			*Senate*		
Year	Northern Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans	Northern Democrats	Southern Democrats	Republicans
1959	17	85	87	23	69	80
1960	8	66	77	21	77	74
1961	15	69	83	15	74	75
1962	14	65	75	29	77	79
1963	13	70	78	20	73	76
1964	13	72	76	20	78	72
1965	10	69	81	19	71	81
1966	13	69	82	17	75	80
1967	15	75	81	24	76	72
1968	16	77	75	31	77	74
1969	21	79	75	24	77	73
1970	19	79	78	21	74	72
1971	25	76	80	38	80	79
1972	24	75	79	20	78	74
1973	22	69	77	17	74	76
1974	24	72	69	19	79	69
1975	22	69	81	19	79	69
1976	25	72	80	21	73	76
1977	25	68	82	26	75	80
1978	26	68	79	24	70	69
1979	29	70	85	29	75	74
1980	27	69	81	26	72	74
1981	30	75	82	29	76	84
1982	27	73	81	30	76	81
1983	22	68	81	30	69	81

NOTE: Data indicate the percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of not voting, as follows: conservative coalition support = (support)/(support + opposition).

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, vol. 40 (January 9, 1982), and vol. 41 (January 15, 1983), p. 102.

TABLE 8-7

HOUSE COMMITTEE SUPPORT OF THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION, 1959-1983

(percent)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Chamber average						
All members	59	56	51	57	61	55
Democrats	44	42	38	41	45	39
Republicans	86	75	78	85	82	81
Agriculture						
All members	79	80	56	65	70	60
Democrats	69	72	44	42	58	48
Republicans	97	90	81	82	86	81
Appropriations						
All members	69	63	56	56	56	52
Democrats	55	54	42	42	42	37
Republicans	90	76	83	85	78	79
Armed Services						
All members	68	69	69	72	80	74
Democrats	55	63	59	65	71	65
Republicans	90	79	90	90	91	90
Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs						
All members	44	50	45	51	52	50
Democrats	26	37	33	35	34	34
Republicans	75	68	68	80	77	76
Budget						
All members	n.a.	n.a.	43	46	63	50
Democrats	n.a.	n.a.	26	27	47	32
Republicans	n.a.	n.a.	79	87	87	85
District of Columbia						
All members	72	62	41	32	39	40
Democrats	65	54	37	13	17	15
Republicans	85	72	49	62	78	79
Education and Labor						
All members	39	40	42	47	44	39
Democrats	16	17	26	27	25	25
Republicans	86	72	73	82	70	71

(Table continues)

TABLE 8-7 (continued)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Energy and Commerce						
All members	65	60	48	53	58	50
Democrats	49	41	31	36	38	31
Republicans	92	84	81	84	85	84
Foreign Affairs						
All members	48	42	41	44	51	42
Democrats	32	20	25	30	38	25
Republicans	78	68	73	71	70	74
Government Operations						
All members	55	37	47	51	54	53
Democrats	37	25	32	34	37	40
Republicans	81	55	78	82	77	78
House Administration						
All members	61	55	49	52	58	49
Democrats	52	37	32	32	41	30
Republicans	78	79	87	90	83	82
Interior and Insular Affairs						
All members	56	57	51	54	57	54
Democrats	36	36	33	35	34	33
Republicans	86	85	88	90	91	91
Judiciary[a]						
All members	58	43	45	50	51	47
Democrats	45	28	36	32	30	26
Republicans	83	63	62	84	79	85
Merchant Marine and Fisheries						
All members	54	52	49	58	63	53
Democrats	39	41	29	45	51	39
Republicans	82	67	71	81	79	76
Post Office and Civil Service						
All members	57	49	43	53	49	47
Democrats	40	28	24	36	23	21
Republicans	88	77	84	82	83	87

TABLE 8–7 (continued)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Public Works and Transportation						
All members	58	63	62	67	66	56
Democrats	45	45	53	52	51	39
Republicans	82	86	80	93	87	83
Rules						
All members	63	54	47	46	54	48
Democrats	44	39	26	27	36	28
Republicans	100	85	56	88	94	92
Science and Technology						
All members	52	58	56	60	58	55
Democrats	34	46	47	49	49	43
Republicans	85	73	73	82	70	74
Small Business						
All members	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	54	59	55
Democrats	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	41	44	47
Republicans	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	79	79	71
Standards of Official Conduct						
All members	n.a.	n.a.	70	69	63	55
Democrats	n.a.	n.a.	67	53	57	29
Republicans	n.a.	n.a.	74	85	82	82
Veterans' Affairs						
All members	53	63	62	73	73	65
Democrats	46	54	53	65	65	53
Republicans	65	74	80	88	83	85
Ways and Means						
All members	62	56	54	52	60	55
Democrats	42	38	39	33	45	36
Republicans	95	83	86	90	87	85

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Data indicate the percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition.

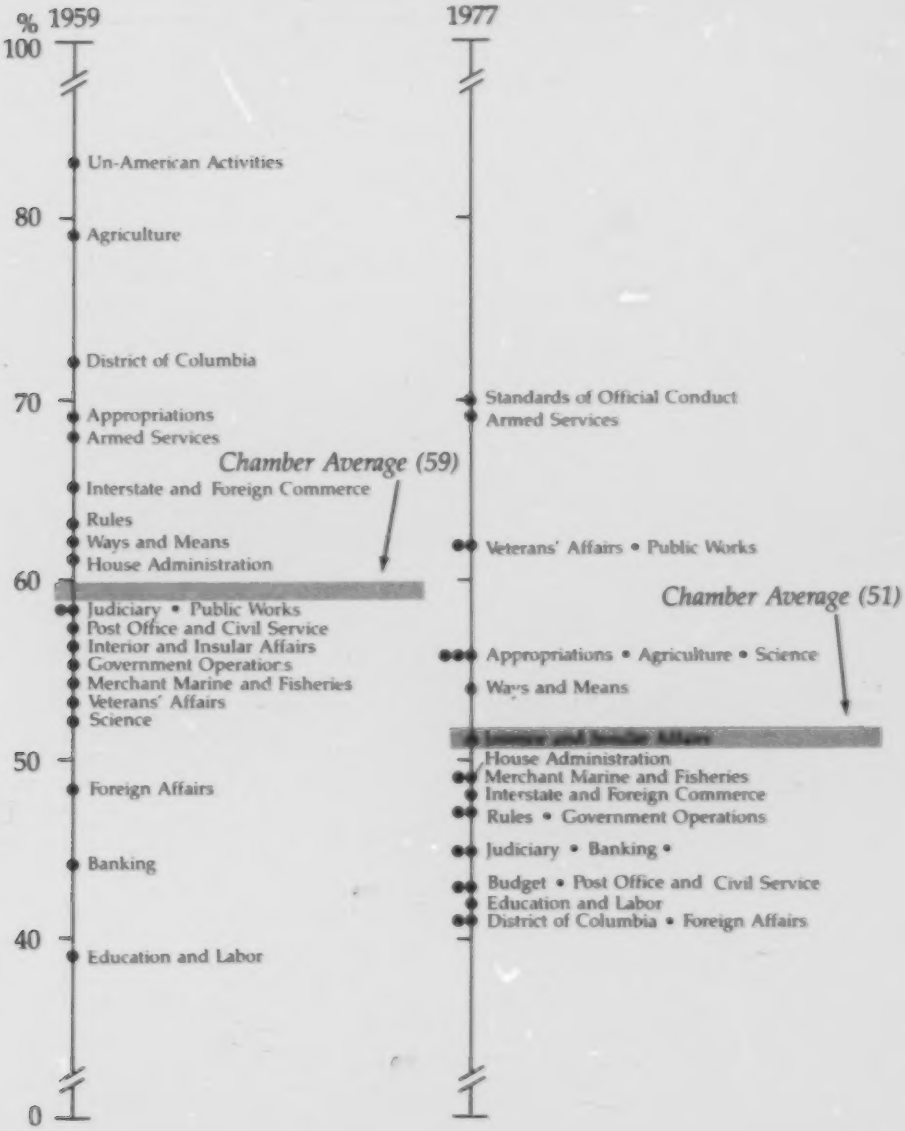
(Notes continue)

a. Frederick Boucher (D-Va.) replaced Harold Washington (D-Ill.), who resigned from Congress to become mayor of Chicago, April 1983.

SOURCE: *Congressional Directory,* various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* various years.

FIGURE 8–2

HOUSE COMMITTEE SUPPORT OF THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION, 1959, 1977, 1981, AND 1983



NOTE: Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition.

SOURCE: Table 8–7.

FIGURE 8–2 (continued)

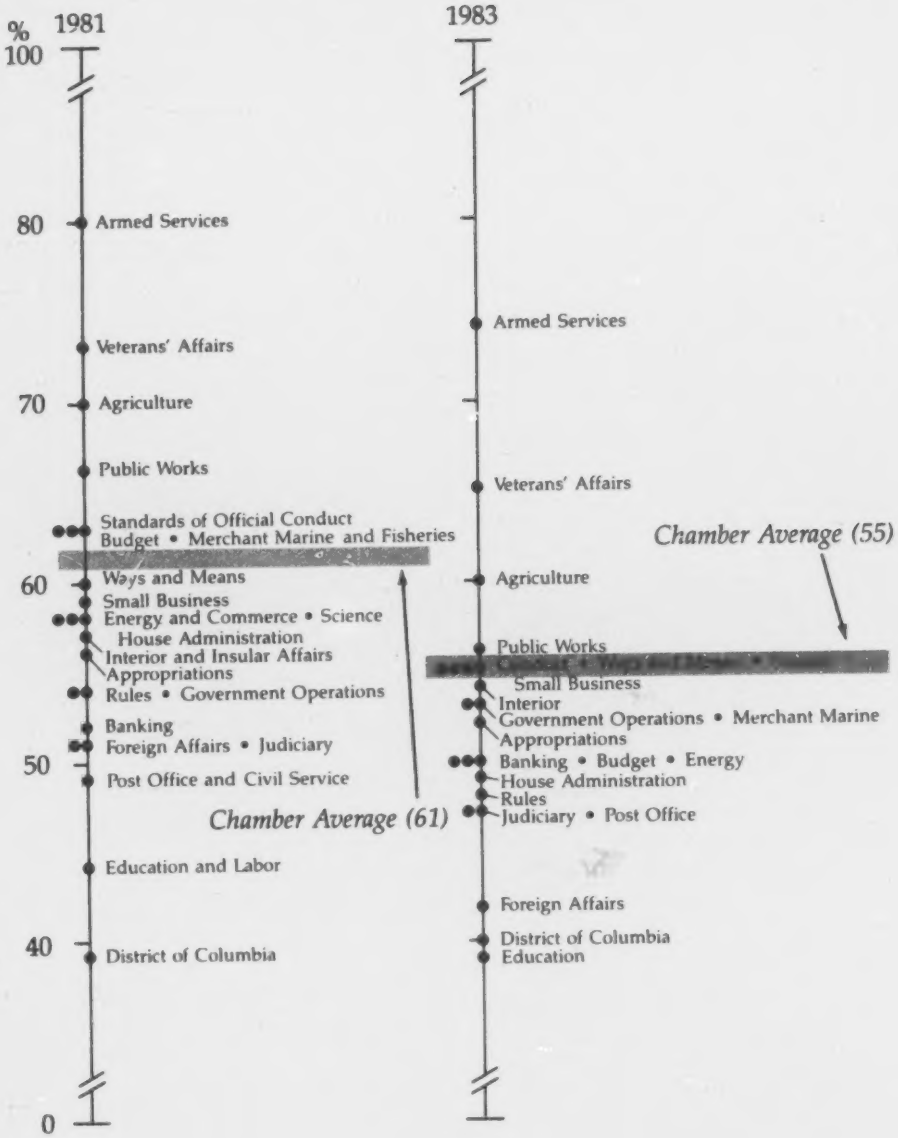


TABLE 8–8

SENATE COMMITTEE SUPPORT OF THE CONSERVATIVE COALITION, 1959–1983

(percent)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Chamber average						
All members	54	55	51	56	65	62
Democrats	41	42	37	43	44	42
Republicans	80	73	73	74	84	79
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry						
All members	63	81	67	71	77	75
Democrats	51	78	51	59	62	61
Republicans	85	83	91	87	90	86
Appropriations						
All members	65	67	50	59	68	66
Democrats	55	58	47	50	53	49
Republicans	85	79	55	72	83	83
Armed Services[a]						
All members	70	65	66	69	76	70
Democrats	68	55	47	54	58	46
Republicans	84	77	96	89	92	89
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs						
All members	49	49	46	48	55	59
Democrats	35	29	27	26	23	27
Republicans	76	57	74	81	83	84
Budget						
All members	n.a.	n.a.	53	55	69	63
Democrats	n.a.	n.a.	36	42	44	40
Republicans	n.a.	n.a.	82	74	89	81
Commerce, Science, and Transportation						
All members	55	52	58	63	72	58
Democrats	40	38	45	55	58	43
Republicans	83	72	80	76	84	71

(Table continues)

TABLE 8–8 (continued)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Energy and Natural Resources[b]						
All members	45	52	54	52	62	58
Democrats	23	29	34	40	37	38
Republicans	75	78	76	72	83	71
Environment and Public Works						
All members	40	53	51	47	63	60
Democrats	22	36	35	35	38	38
Republicans	75	78	76	63	85	77
Finance						
All members	67	63	51	52	67	63
Democrats	53	47	35	47	51	49
Republicans	94	90	74	60	80	74
Foreign Relations						
All members	44	45	36	48	55	52
Democrats	29	39	26	34	26	25
Republicans	71	55	51	69	78	76
Governmental Affairs[c]						
All members	55	55	48	48	61	60
Democrats	39	43	41	45	47	44
Republicans	88	71	55	51	73	73
Judiciary						
All members	53	55	42	52	63	61
Democrats	43	36	35	35	36	38
Republicans	74	72	69	83	85	80
Labor and Human Resources						
All members	35	34	36	39	54	56
Democrats	12	14	18	19	14	23
Republicans	71	62	62	69	85	82
Rules and Administration						
All members	56	71	51	60	64	60
Democrats	43	65	39	49	38	36
Republicans	82	79	74	71	82	77

TABLE 8–8 (continued)

Committee	*1959*	*1969*	*1977*	*1979*	*1981*	*1983*
Veterans' Affairs						
All members	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	60	63	59
Democrats	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	47	34	38
Republicans	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	78	84	74

n.a. = not available.

NOTE: Data indicate the percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition.

a. Alan Dixon (D-Ill.) filled seat vacated by death of Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), September 1, 1983.

b. Daniel Evans (R-Wash.) replaced Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) in 1983.

c. David Pryor (D-Ark.) replaced Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) in 1983.

SOURCES: *Congressional Directory*, various years; and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years.

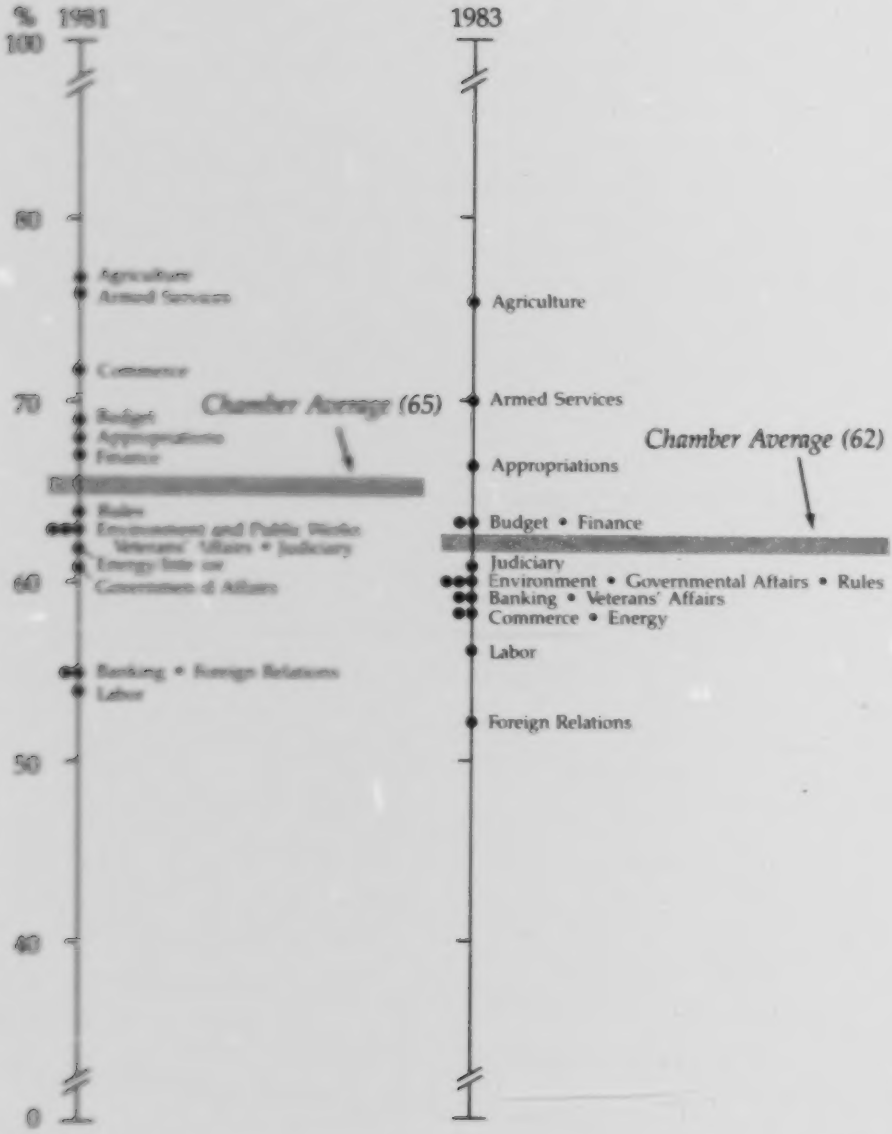
FIGURE 8-3

Senate Committee Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959, 1977, 1981, and 1983

NOTE: Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition.

SOURCE: Table 8-8.

FIGURE 8–3 (continued)



Appendix

Data on Individual Members of the Ninety-seventh and Ninety-eighth Congresses

The appendix contains data on individual members of Congress for the Ninety-seventh and Ninety-eighth Congresses. Tables A–1 and A–3 list members of the Ninety-seventh House (A–1) and Senate (A–3) and their years of service, their age, the returns for their most recent election (for House members, 1980), and various voting ratings, all based on the year 1982. Tables A–2 and A–4 give comparable data on members of the Ninety-eighth Congress, based on the year 1983. Voting ratings in tables A–2 and A–4 are from 1983, with the exception of the final column, which lists career (cumulative) ratings of the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). Note that the conservative coalition (CC), party unity (PU), and presidential support (PS) scores, all derived from Congressional Quarterly measures, have been recalculated to eliminate the effect of absences. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) scores have not been so altered.

TABLE A-1

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1982

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Alabama												
1	J. Edwards	R	18	54	unopp.	95	93	73	76	10	87	85
2	W. Dickinson	R	18	57	unopp.	61	98	88	84	0	95	91
3	B. Nichols	D	16	64	85	unopp.	93	40	58	5	68	75
4	T. Bevill	D	16	61	unopp.	98	80	73	56	20	48	59
5	R. Flippo	D	6	45	unopp.	94	80	69	55	20	45	51
6	A. L. Smith, Jr.	R	2	51	55	51	96	92	84	5	91	89
7	R. Shelby	D	4	48	unopp.	73	90	37	60	10	74	73
Alaska												
AL	D. Young	R	9	49	unopp.	74	81	67	63	10	82	72
Arizona												
1	J. J. Rhodes	R	30	66	unopp.	74	82	69	84	15	75	80
2	M. K. Udall	D	21	60	unopp.	58	36	85	40	85	17	7
3	B. Stump	D	6	55	unopp.	64	96	3	86	0	95	94
4	E. Rudd	R	6	62	88	63	99	94	86	5	95	95
Arkansas												
1	B. Alexander	D	14	49	unopp.	unopp.	64	81	50	40	22	36

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
2	E. Bethune	R	4	47	unopp.	79	89	84	65	10	87	81
3	J. P. Hammerschmidt	R	16	60	unopp.	unopp.	99	80	67	5	65	80
4	B. Anthony, Jr.	D	4	44	unopp.	unopp.	77	84	53	40	29	36
California												
1	G. Chappie	R	2	62	unopp.	54	95	94	78	10	91	91
2	D. H. Clausen	R	19	59	unopp.	54	88	70	64	20	70	76
3	R. T. Matsui	D	4	41	89	71	19	95	40	85	22	16
4	V. Fazio	D	4	40	80	65	31	93	38	80	22	14
5	J. L. Burton	D	8	50	unopp.	51	3	96	18	40	11	15
6	P. Burton	D	18	56	81	69	3	98	27	95	10	4
7	G. Miller	D	8	38	85	63	7	96	27	95	5	13
8	R. V. Dellums	D	12	47	unopp.	56	4	95	19	85	0	10
9	F. H. Stark	D	10	51	unopp.	55	5	96	26	95	5	7
10	D. Edwards	D	20	67	unopp.	62	7	96	28	100	13	6
11	T. Lantos	D	2	54	unopp.	46	31	96	35	80	18	23
12	P. N. McCloskey, Jr.	R	15	54	80	72	60	60	68	30	94	35
13	N. Y. Mineta	D	8	51	unopp.	59	33	92	40	80	17	8
14	N. D. Shumway	R	4	48	unopp.	61	96	98	83	0	96	96
15	T. Coelho	D	4	40	unopp.	72	39	88	46	65	23	16
16	L. E. Panetta	D	6	44	unopp.	71	37	86	43	75	22	30

17	C. Pashayan, Jr.	R	4	41	unopp.	71	85	96	76	15	91	81
18	W. M. Thomas	R	4	41	86	71	92	85	89	5	100	92
19	R. J. Lagomarsino	R	8	56	unopp.	78	93	90	84	5	91	88
20	B. M. Goldwater, Jr.	R	13	44	unopp.	79	94	93	82	5	92	91
21	B. Fiedler	R	2	45	74	49	95	82	73	0	78	81
22	C. J. Moorhead	R	10	60	unopp.	64	97	95	79	0	96	96
23	A. C. Beilenson	D	6	50	85	63	12	94	42	95	17	12
24	H. A. Waxman	D	8	42	unopp.	64	14	93	38	95	18	9
25	E. R. Roybal	D	20	66	unopp.	66	8	98	24	95	0	6
26	J. H. Rousselot	R	14	55	unopp.	71	91	94	88	0	95	96
27	R. K. Dornan	R	6	49	unopp.	51	95	93	92	5	100	88
28	J. C. Dixon	D	4	48	unopp.	79	17	92	37	85	5	6
29	A. F. Hawkins	D	20	75	unopp.	86	18	94	36	70	5	5
30	M. Martinez[b]	D	0	54	35	54	12	93	37	n.a.	31	31
31	M. M. Dymally	D	2	56	49	64	13	95	37	65	11	10
32	G. M. Anderson	D	14	63	85	66	59	67	36	55	35	27
33	W. Grisham	R	4	59	76	71	92	89	92	5	89	91
34	D. Lungren	R	4	36	unopp.	72	93	95	92	0	95	96
35	D. Dreier	R	2	30	53	52	99	98	82	0	90	93
36	G. E. Brown, Jr.	D	18	62	73	53	13	94	34	75	5	8
37	J. Lewis	R	4	48	83	72	89	88	84	5	91	81
38	J. M. Patterson	D	8	48	unopp.	56	28	88	41	65	17	13
39	W. E. Dannemeyer	R	4	53	unopp.	76	90	95	83	5	87	97
40	R. E. Badham	R	6	53	76	70	96	92	93	5	100	95
41	B. Lowery	R	2	35	50	53	93	90	82	0	91	80
42	D. L. Hunter	R	2	34	52	53	95	89	86	5	100	87
43	C. W. Burgener	R	10	61	unopp.	87	93	86	94	5	95	90

(Table continues)

TABLE A–1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Colorado												
1	P. Schroeder	D	10	42	unopp.	60	18	80	39	90	9	24
2	T. E. Wirth	D	8	43	unopp.	56	21	90	35	95	22	17
3	R. Kogovsek	D	4	41	unopp.	55	30	88	38	70	22	15
4	H. Brown	R	2	42	unopp.	68	75	89	68	20	83	79
5	K. Kramer	R	4	40	unopp.	72	92	84	81	0	78	88
Connecticut												
1	B. Kennelly	D	1	53	59	68	26	92	34	95	13	13
2	S. Gejdenson	D	2	34	62	53	15	96	38	100	13	9
3	L. J. DeNardis	R	2	44	61	52	30	30	41	75	35	39
4	S. B. McKinney	R	12	51	unopp.	63	47	43	43	80	38	32
5	W. R. Ratchford	D	4	48	unopp.	50	15	94	36	90	4	11
6	A. T. Moffett	D	8	38	unopp.	59	21	98	32	70	7	10
Delaware												
AL	T. B. Evans, Jr.	R	6	51	unopp.	62	66	60	60	30	65	72
Florida												
1	E. Hutto	D	4	56	unopp.	61	90	56	65	10	55	50
2	D. Fuqua	D	20	49	unopp.	71	81	60	54	25	52	56
3	C. E. Bennett	D	34	72	unopp.	77	81	56	65	40	74	62

4	B. Chappell, Jr.	D	14	55	unopp.	66	87	59	73	20	72	77
5	B. McCollum	R	2	38	54	56	93	92	82	10	87	87
6	C. W. B. Young	R	12	52	unopp.	unopp.	94	81	82	10	73	88
7	S. Gibbons	D	20	63	unopp.	72	67	64	69	50	67	35
8	A. Ireland	D	6	52	unopp.	69	94	31	78	10	84	65
9	B. Nelson	D	4	40	unopp.	70	80	65	63	20	61	55
10	L. A. Bafalis	R	10	53	unopp.	79	86	78	90	5	100	91
11	D. Mica	D	4	38	unopp.	59	65	76	55	45	39	43
12	E. C. Shaw, Jr.	R	2	43	unopp.	54	90	84	77	15	78	85
13	W. Lehman	D	10	69	unopp.	75	27	96	32	89	23	9
14	C. Pepper	D	20	82	79	75	28	96	43	60	16	10
15	D. B. Fascell	D	28	65	unopp.	65	47	88	43	75	30	12
Georgia												
1	B. Ginn	D	10	48	unopp.	unopp.	85	65	42	15	46	54
2	C. F. Hatcher	D	2	43	53	74	91	60	51	25	55	55
3	J. Brinkley	D	16	52	unopp.	unopp.	75	69	58	25	52	69
4	E. H. Levitas	D	8	52	unopp.	69	76	53	57	15	61	55
5	W. Fowler, Jr.	D	5	42	86	74	52	80	48	65	41	38
6	N. Gingrich	R	4	39	unopp.	59	86	81	73	5	96	88
7	L. P. McDonald	D	8	47	68	68	92	10	83	5	91	98
8	B. L. Evans	D	6	41	unopp.	75	80	55	66	15	60	59
9	E. Jenkins	D	6	50	unopp.	68	84	52	45	30	52	63
10	D. Barnard, Jr.	D	6	60	unopp.	80	95	49	66	10	64	69
Hawaii												
1	C. Heftel	D	6	58	72	80	49	84	45	60	27	21
2	D. K. Akaka	D	6	58	unopp.	90	36	91	43	65	19	16

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Idaho												
1	L. E. Craig	R	2	37	53	54	91	92	77	5	91	89
2	G. Hansen	R	12	52	58	59	95	96	87	0	95	96
Illinois												
1	H. Washington	D	2	60	48	96	12	91	15	85	0	2
2	G. Savage	D	2	57	45	88	9	90	22	75	0	0
3	M. A. Russo	D	8	38	unopp.	69	32	84	33	80	13	30
4	E. J. Derwinski	R	24	56	83	68	84	81	89	15	95	86
5	J. G. Fary	D	7	71	72	80	53	88	58	65	27	20
6	H. J. Hyde	R	8	58	unopp.	67	91	81	82	15	86	74
7	C. Collins	D	9	51	78	85	8	93	28	90	4	7
8	D. Rostenkowski	D	24	54	89	85	44	85	50	85	13	10
9	S. R. Yates	D	32	73	87	73	5	95	26	75	6	8
10	J. E. Porter	R	3	47	unopp.	61	66	70	65	35	70	68
11	F. Annunzio	D	18	67	unopp.	70	47	89	54	65	23	14
12	P. M. Crane	R	13	52	unopp.	74	93	94	82	0	96	98
13	R. McClory	R	20	74	60	72	77	73	79	15	76	69
14	J. N. Erlenborn	R	18	55	81	77	88	82	87	10	100	76
15	T. Corcoran	R	6	43	unopp.	77	97	95	87	0	87	90
16	L. Martin	R	2	43	45	67	59	68	51	30	70	67

17	G. M. O'Brien	R	10	65	unopp.	66	83	68	65	25	67	69
18	R. H. Michel	R	26	59	unopp.	62	90	84	87	5	87	86
19	T. Railsback	R	16	50	unopp.	73	55	51	56	45	55	51
20	P. Findley	R	22	61	56	56	52	58	51	65	48	70
21	E. R. Madigan	R	10	46	unopp.	68	77	71	72	20	76	69
22	D. B. Crane	R	4	46	unopp.	69	92	94	81	0	96	97
23	M. Price	D	38	77	86	64	51	84	60	55	32	11
24	P. Simon	D	8	54	73	49	18	95	36	75	25	9
Indiana												
1	A. Benjamin, Jr.[c]	D	6	47	unopp.	72	75	85	50	71	n.a.	n.a.
2	F. J. Fithian	D	8	54	unopp.	54	28	80	50	80	23	34
3	J. P. Hiler	R	2	29	58	55	95	95	86	5	82	87
4	D. Coats	R	2	39	58	61	82	87	71	30	77	78
5	E. Hillis	R	12	56	unopp.	62	88	76	68	10	83	68
6	D. W. Evans	D	8	36	93	50	33	85	37	65	9	44
7	J. T. Myers	R	16	55	unopp.	66	89	84	72	5	78	86
8	H. J. Deckard	R	4	40	unopp.	55	58	56	49	25	57	74
9	L. H. Hamilton	D	17	51	90	64	58	67	48	70	30	22
10	P. R. Sharp	D	8	40	90	53	36	71	43	80	22	24
11	A. Jacobs, Jr.	D	16	50	unopp.	57	26	68	40	85	14	28
Iowa												
1	J. Leach	R	6	40	unopp.	64	38	44	46	65	32	54
2	T. Tauke	R	4	32	unopp.	54	55	55	51	60	52	62
3	C. Evans	R	2	58	45	51	57	60	56	50	48	60
4	N. Smith	D	24	62	unopp.	54	31	83	42	80	13	13
5	T. Harkin	D	8	43	unopp.	60	12	87	71	95	9	22
6	B. Bedell	D	8	61	unopp.	64	26	77	76	85	22	19

(Table continues)

TABLE A–1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Kansas												
1	P. Roberts	R	2	46	56	62	86	89	64	15	87	85
2	J. Jeffries	R	4	57	49	54	92	96	85	0	95	98
3	L. Winn, Jr.	R	16	63	unopp.	56	93	87	75	0	78	78
4	D. Glickman	D	6	38	unopp.	69	47	74	47	70	30	36
5	B. Whittaker	R	4	43	unopp.	74	84	88	65	15	78	83
Kentucky												
1	C. Hubbard, Jr.	D	8	45	83	unopp.	89	48	57	25	65	59
2	W. H. Natcher	D	29	73	unopp.	66	63	74	48	55	26	33
3	R. L. Mazzoli	D	12	50	79	64	50	77	46	70	22	26
4	G. Snyder	R	18	54	unopp.	67	85	76	68	10	74	85
5	H. Rogers	R	2	45	23	67	88	77	71	15	68	74
6	L. J. Hopkins	R	4	49	unopp.	59	79	78	60	20	70	80
7	C. D. Perkins	D	34	70	86	unopp.	53	81	44	70	22	16
Louisiana[d]												
1	R. L. Livingston	R	5	39	88	—	88	79	85	5	100	84
2	L. Boggs	D	9	66	61	—	58	86	45	50	33	24
3	W. J. Tauzin	D	2	39	85	—	85	36	61	5	73	63
4	B. Roemer	D	2	39	27	64	77	32	75	15	83	74

5	J. Huckaby	D	6	41	89	—	76	50	57	25	64	73
6	W. H. Moore	R	7	43	91	—	88	82	75	0	87	85
7	J. B. Breaux	D	10	38	unopp.	—	82	51	68	15	71	60
8	G. W. Long	D	10	59	69	—	52	88	46	45	32	26
Maine												
1	D. F. Emery	R	8	33	unopp.	68	73	63	53	30	59	61
2	O. J. Snowe	R	4	36	unopp.	79	60	87	48	50	43	62
Maryland												
1	R. Dyson	D	2	34	69	52	63	70	57	35	39	49
2	C. D. Long	D	20	74	57	57	44	82	49	70	30	24
3	B. A. Mikulski	D	6	46	75	76	19	93	32	90	13	14
4	M. S. Holt	R	10	62	unopp.	72	88	78	80	10	76	86
5	S. Hoyer	D	2	43	30	55	26	95	40	75	13	12
6	B. B. Byron	D	4	50	71	70	84	47	58	30	50	59
7	P. J. Mitchell	D	10	60	81	88	9	93	23	90	0	5
8	M. D. Barnes	D	4	39	unopp.	59	20	94	38	75	9	8
Massachusetts												
1	S. O. Conte	R	24	61	unopp.	75	41	36	54	80	30	32
2	E. P. Boland	D	30	71	71	67	38	92	41	80	22	11
3	J. D. Early	D	8	50	unopp.	72	21	95	41	80	10	19
4	B. Frank	D	2	42	52	52	16	89	35	90	9	7
5	J. M. Shannon	D	4	30	54	66	7	96	35	95	9	8
6	N. Mavroules	D	4	53	69	51	26	92	42	80	13	13
7	E. J. Markey	D	6	36	85	unopp.	8	97	34	100	9	12
8	T. P. O'Neill, Jr.[e]	D	30	70	unopp.	78	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	J. Moakley	D	10	55	unopp.	unopp.	26	95	43	75	22	9
10	M. M. Heckler	R	16	51	unopp.	61	23	30	38	80	13	29

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
11	B. J. Donnelly	D	4	36	unopp.	unopp.	35	87	40	80	22	22
12	G. E. Studds	D	10	45	unopp.	73	10	92	34	95	13	8
Michigan												
1	J. Conyers, Jr.	D	18	53	unopp.	95	9	89	27	80	12	12
2	C. D. Pursell	R	6	50	90	57	55	49	50	45	35	40
3	H. Wolpe	D	4	43	unopp.	52	12	89	34	100	13	15
4	M. Siljander	R	2	31	40	74	99	91	76	5	87	89
5	H. S. Sawyer	R	6	62	81	53	86	68	66	0	74	76
6	J. Dunn	R	2	39	81	51	70	69	49	30	50	56
7	D. E. Kildee	D	6	53	unopp.	93	10	92	36	95	9	13
8	B. Traxler	D	8	51	unopp.	61	27	92	31	75	10	17
9	G. Vander Jagt	R	16	51	unopp.	97	85	62	60	15	70	73
10	D. J. Albosta	D	4	57	unopp.	52	37	87	28	75	9	24
11	R. W. Davis	R	4	50	unopp.	66	68	40	49	35	52	65
12	D. E. Bonior	D	6	37	82	55	14	94	31	70	6	11
13	G. W. Crockett, Jr.	D	2	73	42	92	4	94	22	80	0	3
14	D. M. Hertel	D	2	34	62	53	24	90	33	75	14	21
15	W. D. Ford	D	18	55	unopp.	68	9	99	33	85	9	9
16	J. D. Dingell	D	27	56	88	70	26	93	45	80	22	13
17	W. M. Brodhead	D	8	41	unopp.	73	3	92	33	95	9	7

18	J. J. Blanchard	D	8	40	unopp.	65	17	98	24	40	10	13
19	W. S. Broomfield	R	26	60	unopp.	73	87	78	71	10	78	68
Minnesota												
1	A. Erdahl	R	4	51	unopp.	72	64	64	55	55	64	61
2	T. Hagedorn	R	8	39	unopp.	61	89	88	73	5	83	86
3	B. Frenzel	R	12	54	91	76	79	81	75	25	91	60
4	B. F. Vento	D	6	42	unopp.	59	5	95	35	100	13	6
5	M. O. Sabo	D	4	44	unopp.	70	11	95	36	100	14	9
6	V. Weber	R	2	30	87	53	75	82	62	20	78	74
7	A. Stangeland	R	5	52	unopp.	52	89	82	65	10	71	83
8	J. L. Oberstar	D	8	48	56	70	11	96	35	100	13	6
Mississippi												
1	J. L. Whitten	D	41	72	unopp.	63	59	71	43	45	33	67
2	D. R. Bowen	D	10	50	unopp.	70	68	77	59	45	47	63
3	G. V. Montgomery	D	16	62	unopp.	unopp.	95	34	76	5	91	86
4	W. Dowdy[f]	D	2	40	25	50	56	79	40	45	32	42
5	T. Lott	R	10	41	unopp.	74	89	80	82	5	91	87
Missouri												
1	W. Clay	D	14	51	72	70	4	94	31	65	0	6
2	R. A. Young	D	6	59	86	64	64	77	46	40	38	33
3	R. A. Gephardt	D	6	41	unopp.	78	58	75	45	55	36	34
4	I. Skelton	D	6	51	89	68	84	49	59	10	55	49
5	R. Bolling	D	34	66	82	70	34	88	44	40	10	7
6	E. T. Coleman	R	6	39	unopp.	71	76	88	58	10	70	84
7	G. Taylor	R	10	54	unopp.	68	95	71	69	0	96	91
8	W. Bailey	R	2	42	34	57	84	92	67	5	83	85

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
9	H. L. Volkmer	D	6	51	86	56	57	66	37	45	30	40
10	B. Emerson	R	2	44	77	55	89	91	63	10	83	85
Montana												
1	P. Williams	D	4	45	75	61	17	88	36	85	13	16
2	R. Marlenee	R	6	47	unopp.	59	87	73	64	5	80	82
Nebraska												
1	D. K. Bereuter	R	4	43	unopp.	79	79	77	75	26	73	74
2	H. Daub	R	2	42	61	53	84	86	74	10	74	80
3	V. Smith	R	8	71	unopp.	84	81	82	71	25	74	83
Nevada												
AL	J. Santini	D	8	45	79	68	68	50	49	5	37	54
New Hampshire												
1	N. E. D'Amours	D	8	45	unopp.	61	49	75	39	60	26	31
2	J. Gregg	R	2	35	34	64	80	85	69	35	78	82
New Jersey												
1	J. J. Florio	D	8	45	unopp.	77	19	93	33	85	9	17
2	W. J. Hughes	D	8	50	unopp.	57	41	81	43	80	22	33
3	J. J. Howard	D	18	55	unopp.	50	10	98	36	90	0	6

4	C. H. Smith	R	2	29	83	57	53	42	49	50	30	47
5	M. Fenwick	R	8	72	70	78	42	56	54	65	62	43
6	E. B. Forsythe	R	12	67	90	56	63	72	49	40	60	54
7	M. Roukema	R	2	53	unopp.	51	62	59	65	50	57	60
8	R. A. Roe	D	13	58	unopp.	67	34	87	37	75	13	20
9	H. C. Hollenbeck	R	6	44	unopp.	59	22	21	42	80	9	32
10	P. W. Rodino, Jr.	D	34	73	62	85	12	95	28	100	9	7
11	J. G. Minish	D	20	66	unopp.	63	24	93	38	80	9	13
12	M. J. Rinaldo	R	10	51	unopp.	77	42	27	48	60	18	37
13	J. A. Courter	R	4	41	unopp.	72	85	73	72	10	77	79
14	F. J. Guarini	D	4	58	unopp.	64	24	93	36	90	19	19
15	B. J. Dwyer	D	2	61	32	53	22	95	41	90	13	13
New Mexico												
1	M. Lujan, Jr.	R	14	54	unopp.	51	84	86	76	10	90	77
2	J. Skeen[6]	R	2	55	none	38	100	90	84	5	96	85
New York												
1	W. Carney	R	4	40	58	56	88	78	78	5	82	83
2	T. J. Downey	D	8	33	unopp.	56	12	96	40	100	13	10
3	G. W. Carman	R	2	45	unopp.	50	93	87	85	15	96	89
4	N. F. Lent	R	12	51	unopp.	67	72	65	71	35	70	66
5	R. J. McGrath	R	2	40	unopp.	58	78	68	64	10	59	70
6	J. LeBoutillier	R	2	29	unopp.	53	87	82	71	85	65	74
7	J. P. Addabbo	D	22	57	unopp.	95	16	94	31	85	0	10
8	B. S. Rosenthal	D	20	59	unopp.	76	7	94	31	75	6	6
9	G. A. Ferraro	D	4	47	unopp.	58	16	97	37	75	9	14
10	M. Biaggi	D	14	65	unopp.	95	33	90	40	95	10	26

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
11	J. H. Scheuer	D	16	62	unopp.	74	15	94	37	95	9	9
12	S. Chisholm	D	14	58	62	87	7	97	27	75	0	8
13	S. J. Solarz	D	8	42	unopp.	80	11	96	40	95	13	8
14	F. W. Richmond[h]	D	8	59	74	76	3	99	31	93	0	—
15	L. C. Zeferetti	D	8	55	71	50	31	89	44	70	5	22
16	C. E. Schumer	D	2	32	59	77	8	96	35	95	10	7
17	G. V. Molinari	R	2	54	unopp.	48	69	65	59	15	52	59
18	S. W. Green	R	4	53	unopp.	57	31	35	55	70	32	28
19	C. B. Rangel	D	12	52	unopp.	96	10	95	31	100	4	6
20	T. Weiss	D	6	55	unopp.	82	8	95	24	90	10	10
21	R. Garcia	D	4	49	unopp.	98	11	95	31	95	5	7
22	J. B. Bingham	D	18	68	unopp.	84	13	92	38	90	15	5
23	P. A. Peyser	D	10	61	unopp.	56	11	96	40	85	9	14
24	R. L. Ottinger	D	14	53	unopp.	59	8	91	24	95	4	12
25	H. Fish, Jr.	R	14	56	unopp.	81	53	45	51	45	55	50
26	B. A. Gilman	R	10	60	unopp.	74	46	42	56	50	45	43
27	M. F. McHugh	D	8	44	unopp.	55	19	92	42	100	17	11
28	S. S. Stratton	D	24	66	unopp.	78	75	62	57	35	45	32
29	G. B. H. Solomon	R	4	52	unopp.	67	89	90	70	5	91	87
30	D. Martin	R	2	38	70	64	93	80	70	15	83	82
31	D. J. Mitchell	R	10	59	unopp.	77	82	54	57	25	57	62

32	G. Wortley	R	2	56	40	60	84	76	74	15	77	71
33	G. A. Lee	R	4	49	unopp.	77	78	80	72	15	80	80
34	F. Horton	R	20	63	unopp.	73	60	44	45	50	45	39
35	B. B. Conable, Jr.	R	18	60	unopp.	72	77	76	85	25	82	71
36	J. J. LaFalce	D	8	43	unopp.	72	22	89	40	85	22	19
37	H. J. Nowak	D	8	47	unopp.	83	14	92	35	100	13	11
38	J. F. Kemp	R	12	47	unopp.	82	85	75	76	15	78	85
39	S. N. Lundine	D	6	43	unopp.	55	23	87	33	80	5	15
North Carolina												
1	W. B. Jones	D	16	69	79	unopp.	64	75	47	40	32	65
2	L. H. Fountain	D	30	69	unopp.	73	89	37	62	10	68	71
3	C. Whitley	D	6	55	80	68	95	52	54	20	61	57
4	I. F. Andrews	D	10	57	77	53	75	66	55	30	43	48
5	S. L. Neal	D	8	48	unopp.	51	70	60	49	25	50	50
6	E. Johnston	R	2	46	unopp.	51	91	95	88	5	91	93
7	C. Rose	D	10	43	80	69	65	77	40	40	47	38
8	W. G. Hefner	D	8	52	74	59	90	60	49	20	50	49
9	J. G. Martin	R	10	47	unopp.	59	90	92	75	5	90	89
10	J. T. Broyhill	R	20	55	unopp.	70	89	87	79	10	100	88
11	W. M. Hendon	R	2	38	unopp.	54	95	90	76	5	74	83
North Dakota												
AL	B. L. Dorgan	D	2	40	unopp.	57	34	83	38	85	17	15
Ohio												
1	W. D. Gradison, Jr.	R	8	54	unopp.	75	82	79	78	20	91	75
2	T. A. Luken	D	6	57	unopp.	59	39	85	37	65	17	35

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
3	T. P. Hall	D	4	40	unopp.	57	33	84	39	70	33	24
4	M. Oxley	R	2	38	50	51	90	86	82	10	90	88
5	D. L. Latta	R	24	62	unopp.	70	95	88	86	15	91	88
6	B. McEwen	R	2	32	45	55	81	81	63	30	77	80
7	C. J. Brown	R	17	55	unopp.	76	88	84	95	15	86	76
8	T. N. Kindness	R	8	53	unopp.	76	92	92	72	0	83	90
9	E. Weber	R	2	51	76	56	82	80	81	25	78	74
10	C. E. Miller	R	16	65	unopp.	74	78	82	70	5	74	85
11	J. W. Stanton	R	18	58	unopp.	69	80	70	74	10	87	61
12	B. Shamansky	D	2	55	unopp.	53	32	92	41	80	17	20
13	D. J. Pease	D	6	51	69	64	21	89	39	90	26	16
14	J. F. Seiberling	D	12	64	unopp.	65	13	95	25	90	13	6
15	C. P. Wylie	R	16	62	unopp.	73	70	68	62	15	57	76
16	R. Regula	R	10	58	unopp.	79	77	66	65	25	70	65
17	J. M. Ashbrook[i]	R	22	54	unopp.	73	—	20	50	0	—	—
18	D. Applegate	D	6	54	unopp.	76	58	94	41	45	18	45
19	L. Williams	R	4	40	unopp.	58	61	67	51	50	48	57
20	M. R. Oakar	D	6	42	unopp.	unopp.	24	88	34	70	5	17
21	L. Stokes	D	14	57	unopp.	88	9	96	29	85	0	5
22	D. E. Eckart	D	2	32	41	55	22	90	33	70	23	28

23	R. M. Mottl	D	8	48	unopp.	unopp.	43	69	44	45	18	48
Oklahoma												
1	J. R. Jones	D	10	43	unopp.	58	66	66	53	50	35	58
2	M. Synar	D	4	32	unopp.	54	46	82	45	55	27	26
3	W. Watkins	D	6	44	91	unopp.	80	65	52	35	36	61
4	D. McCurdy	D	2	32	51	51	81	53	62	25	64	60
5	M. Edwards	R	6	45	unopp.	68	87	86	75	5	90	90
6	G. English	D	8	42	unopp.	65	84	43	65	20	61	74
Oregon												
1	L. AuCoin	D	8	40	unopp.	66	17	92	36	85	10	24
2	D. Smith	R	2	44	77	49	96	97	82	5	86	91
3	R. Wyden	D	2	33	60	72	8	93	30	95	0	11
4	J. Weaver	D	8	55	75	55	12	88	23	95	10	18
Pennsylvania												
1	T. M. Foglietta	D	2	54	unopp.	38	19	94	36	85	19	20
2	W. H. Gray III	D	4	41	unopp.	96	9	94	24	85	0	4
3	J. F. Smith[j]	D	2	62	—	53	49	86	47	50	35	36
4	C. F. Dougherty	R	4	45	51	63	66	33	53	35	43	48
5	R. T. Schulze	R	8	53	unopp.	75	87	81	65	15	57	85
6	G. Yatron	D	14	55	unopp.	67	54	76	42	60	26	35
7	R. W. Edgar	D	8	39	unopp.	53	5	89	33	100	9	9
8	J. K. Coyne	R	2	36	unopp.	51	72	63	59	35	61	68
9	B. Shuster	R	10	50	unopp.	unopp.	77	82	63	20	59	89
10	J. M. McDade	R	20	51	unopp.	77	56	40	42	60	36	40
11	J. L. Nelligan	R	2	53	54	52	79	63	65	30	52	63
12	J. P. Murtha	D	8	50	unopp.	59	68	76	58	45	43	30

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
13	L. Coughlin	R	14	53	85	70	57	66	66	45	55	53
14	W. J. Coyne	D	2	46	57	69	26	93	43	90	17	15
15	D. Ritter	R	4	42	unopp.	59	79	84	74	20	78	80
16	R. S. Walker	R	6	40	unopp.	77	84	92	68	15	83	93
17	A. E. Ertel	D	6	46	unopp.	61	32	89	23	70	24	34
18	D. Walgren	D	6	42	unopp.	68	24	83	36	80	18	19
19	W. F. Goodling	R	8	55	unopp.	76	69	76	63	25	59	77
20	J. M. Gaydos	D	14	56	unopp.	73	43	82	39	55	9	29
21	D. Bailey	D	4	37	60	68	56	84	56	55	30	28
22	A. J. Murphy	D	6	55	unopp.	70	46	79	38	55	19	35
23	W. F. Clinger, Jr.	R	4	53	unopp.	74	77	62	65	25	61	66
24	M. L. Marks	R	6	55	unopp.	50	23	27	34	35	21	43
25	E. V. Atkinson	D	4	55	75	67	78	64	69	35	52	61
Rhode Island												
1	F. J. St Germain	D	22	54	79	68	24	92	41	90	17	10
2	C. Schneider	R	2	35	unopp.	55	23	21	40	85	9	19
South Carolina												
1	T. F. Hartnett	R	2	41	75	52	92	92	80	10	100	95
2	F. Spence	R	12	54	unopp.	56	95	85	74	0	87	90
3	B. Derrick	D	8	46	unopp.	60	58	76	41	50	35	44

4	C. A. Campbell, Jr.	R	4	42	unopp.	93	99	88	77	0	95	89
5	K. Holland	D	8	48	unopp.	88	85	67	55	35	44	43
6	J. L. Napier	R	2	35	60	52	88	72	66	5	76	77
South Dakota												
1	T. A. Daschle	D	4	35	unopp.	66	38	85	33	80	23	26
2	C. Roberts	R	2	47	65	58	88	87	66	10	82	84
Tennessee												
1	J. H. Quillen	R	20	66	77	86	89	72	71	10	86	84
2	J. J. Duncan	R	18	63	unopp.	76	95	71	70	10	74	81
3	M. L. Bouquard	D	8	53	unopp.	61	77	60	50	25	50	48
4	A. Gore, Jr.	D	6	34	92	79	47	89	46	70	26	21
5	W. H. Boner	D	4	37	unopp.	65	65	77	49	40	32	34
6	R. L. Beard, Jr.	R	10	43	unopp.	unopp.	96	88	92	5	83	87
7	E. Jones	D	13	70	unopp.	77	69	70	40	30	25	50
8	H. E. Ford	D	8	37	73	unopp.	23	93	33	80	12	12
Texas												
1	S. B. Hall, Jr.	D	6	58	unopp.	unopp.	81	41	56	5	78	82
2	C. Wilson	D	10	49	78	69	81	63	61	25	65	44
3	J. M. Collins	R	14	66	unopp.	79	85	94	80	5	94	95
4	R. M. Hall	D	2	59	57	52	81	40	58	5	57	62
5	J. Mattox	D	6	39	unopp.	51	35	89	30	35	24	37
6	P. Gramm	D	4	40	unopp.	71	90	10	86	10	100	84
7	B. Archer	R	12	54	unopp.	82	90	92	82	0	91	96
8	J. Fields	R	2	30	unopp.	52	92	91	86	5	91	91
9	J. Brooks	D	30	60	50	unopp.	59	81	50	50	33	21
10	J. J. Pickle	D	19	69	75	59	81	61	55	30	59	44
11	M. Leath	D	4	51	unopp.	unopp.	96	33	69	10	81	80

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings*					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (current)
12	J. Wright	D	28	60	unopp.	60	61	83	50	55	39	24
13	J. Hightower	D	8	56	unopp.	55	79	56	58	30	57	60
14	B. Patman	D	2	55	52	57	88	48	64	15	70	65
15	E. de la Garza	D	18	55	unopp.	70	78	73	60	25	38	47
16	R. C. White	D	18	59	unopp.	85	95	52	61	15	61	56
17	C. W. Stenholm	D	4	44	unopp.	unopp.	96	18	74	5	82	80
18	M. Leland	D	4	38	unopp.	80	9	94	28	90	10	6
19	K. Hance	D	4	40	unopp.	94	81	48	67	30	74	67
20	H. B. Gonzalez	D	21	66	unopp.	82	36	86	48	60	22	17
21	T. Loeffler	R	4	36	unopp.	76	100	92	84	0	91	92
22	R. Paul	R	5	47	unopp.	51	65	85	55	35	74	85
23	A. Kazen, Jr.	D	16	63	76	70	90	51	58	20	48	43
24	M. Frost	D	4	40	unopp.	61	41	87	37	70	30	31
Utah												
1	J. V. Hansen	R	2	50	unopp.	52	94	91	78	0	85	93
2	D. Marriott	R	6	43	unopp.	67	96	79	72	10	82	89
Vermont												
AL	J. M. Jeffords	R	8	48	unopp.	79	41	38	48	65	39	36

Virginia												
1	P. S. Trible, Jr.	R	6	36	conv.	91	92	78	71	5	75	83
2	G. W. Whitehurst	R	14	57	conv.	90	96	83	76	5	87	82
3	T. J. Bliley, Jr.	R	2	50	conv.	52	97	95	87	0	96	87
4	R. W. Daniel, Jr.	R	10	46	conv.	61	95	89	78	0	87	93
5	D. Daniel	D	14	68	conv.	unopp.	96	20	79	5	77	91
6	M. C. Butler	R	10	57	conv.	unopp.	87	86	86	5	86	87
7	J. K. Robinson	R	12	66	conv.	unopp.	99	91	80	5	87	93
8	S. Parris	R	4	53	60	49	76	68	60	16	62	73
9	W. C. Wampler	R	18	56	conv.	69	95	76	62	10	62	78
10	F. R. Wolf	R	2	43	75	51	84	71	59	10	62	71
Washington												
1	J. Pritchard	R	10	57	unopp.	78	54	53	50	55	48	42
2	A. Swift	D	4	47	92	64	27	93	43	85	22	15
3	D. Bonker	D	8	45	91	63	36	89	41	70	14	14
4	S. Morrison	R	2	49	59	57	89	78	71	10	74	77
5	T. S. Foley	D	18	53	unopp.	52	42	87	43	65	25	16
6	N. D. Dicks	D	6	42	91	54	37	92	43	65	30	19
7	M. Lowry	D	4	43	94	57	11	95	35	95	13	14
West Virginia												
1	R. H. Mollohan	D	18	73	unopp.	64	67	81	54	40	33	30
2	C. Benedict	R	2	47	62	56	87	81	71	25	86	77
3	D. M. Staton	R	2	42	74	53	93	86	82	10	83	87
4	N. J. Rahall II	D	6	33	unopp.	77	29	89	33	70	6	21
Wisconsin												
1	L. Aspin	D	12	44	unopp.	56	44	84	47	85	30	14

(Table continues)

TABLE A-1 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1980 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
2	R. W. Kastenmeier	D	24	58	unopp.	54	12	90	26	90	9	10
3	S. Gunderson	R	2	31	69	51	68	74	56	45	64	70
4	C. J. Zablocki	D	34	70	89	70	41	92	48	70	22	18
5	H. S. Reuss	D	28	70	88	77	19	93	34	95	14	6
6	T. E. Petri	R	3	42	unopp.	59	70	72	57	35	70	66
7	D. R. Obey	D	13	44	unopp.	65	19	89	40	100	13	15
8	T. Roth	R	4	44	unopp.	68	81	77	60	10	87	88
9	F. J. Sensenbrenner, Jr.	R	4	39	unopp.	78	70	84	63	25	83	89
Wyoming AL	R. B. Cheney	R	4	41	unopp.	69	97	92	90	5	100	94

NOTE: AL = at large; D = Democratic; R = Republican; unopp. = unopposed; conv. = nominated by convention; n.a. = not available; dash = not applicable.

a. CC = conservative coalition; PU = party unity; PS = presidential support; ADA = Americans for Democratic Action; ACA = Americans for Constitutional Action. In compiling this table, the conservative coalition, party unity, and presidential support scores were calculated to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: support = support/(support + opposition).

b. Martinez succeeded G. E. Danielson, who resigned March 9, 1982.

c. Benjamin died October 7, 1982; seat filled by Katie Hall (D) November 29, 1982.

d. If any candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the Louisiana primary, the election is won outright. If not, the two top candidates face each other in a runoff.

e. The Speaker of the House does not usually vote.

f. In the initial nonpartisan special election, Dowdy finished with 25 percent, second to Liles Williams (45 percent). Dowdy defeated Williams in the runoff.

g. Skeen won the general election as a write-in candidate.

h. Richmond resigned August 25, 1982.

i. Jean S. Ashbrook replaced J. M. Ashbrook after his death on April 24, 1982. She was sworn in July 12, 1982.

j. Smith ran as a Republican-Independent in a special election and decided to caucus with the Democrats.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; *Congressional Directory*, various years; Barone et al., *Almanac of American Politics*, 1978, 1980, 1982, and 1984; and Ehrenhalt, *Politics in America 1982*.

TABLE A-2

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 1983

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Alabama												
1	J. Edwards	R	19	55	unopp.	61	84	65	75	10	78	85
2	W. Dickinson	R	19	58	unopp.	50	89	82	83	0	80	91
3	B. Nichols	D	17	65	unopp.	96	88	46	53	25	71	75
4	T. Bevill	D	17	62	unopp.	unopp.	83	67	41	55	60	59
5	R. Flippo	D	7	46	unopp.	81	86	62	49	55	50	51
6	B. Erdreich	D	3	46	unopp.	53	79	58	37	50	54	54
7	R. Shelby	D	5	49	65	97	79	44	55	25	68	72
Alaska												
AL	D. Young	R	10	50	unopp.	21	92	59	60	20	82	73
Arizona												
1	J. McCain	R	1	47	32	66	92	90	82	10	81	81
2	M. K. Udall	D	22	61	unopp.	71	24	95	25	90	12	7
3	B. Stump	R	7	56	unopp.	63	93	94	81	0	93	94
4	E. Rudd	R	7	63	unopp.	66	94	88	79	0	96	95
5	J. McNulty	D	1	58	83	50	35	89	30	75	11	11
Arkansas												
1	B. Alexander	D	15	50	unopp.	65	47	87	40	65	33	36

2	E. Bethune	R	5	48	unopp.	54	79	81	64	15	85	82
3	J. P. Hammerschmidt	R	17	61	unopp.	66	93	78	68	0	86	81
4	B. Anthony, Jr.	D	5	45	78	66	64	73	47	50	44	38
California												
1	D. H. Bosco	D	1	37	74	50	31	89	21	80	19	19
2	G. Chappie	R	3	63	unopp.	58	99	93	77	10	88	90
3	R. T. Matsui	D	5	42	unopp.	90	24	94	33	85	14	15
4	V. Fazio	D	5	41	unopp.	64	25	93	29	80	22	16
5	P. Burton[b]	D	19	57	unopp.	59	12	100	28	n.a.	11	11
6	B. Boxer	D	1	43	51	52	4	96	16	92	4	4
7	G. Miller	D	9	39	unopp.	67	15	91	12	95	11	13
8	R. V. Dellums	D	13	48	76	56	2	92	8	90	16	11
9	F. H. Stark	D	11	52	78	61	13	92	23	95	11	7
10	D. Edwards	D	21	68	62	63	7	97	16	90	4	6
11	T. Lantos	D	3	55	unopp.	57	21	95	22	100	15	20
12	E. Zschau	R	1	43	unopp.	63	73	75	78	15	68	68
13	N. Y. Mineta	D	9	52	unopp.	66	8	96	16	95	4	8
14	N. D. Shumway	R	5	49	unopp.	63	98	98	88	0	100	97
15	T. Coelho	D	5	41	unopp.	64	25	95	31	75	3	16
16	L. E. Panetta	D	7	45	unopp.	85	22	89	21	75	8	27
17	C. Pashayan, Jr.	R	5	42	unopp.	54	96	90	78	0	100	85
18	R. Lehman	D	1	35	unopp.	60	16	96	24	80	15	15
19	R. J. Lagomarsino	R	9	57	unopp.	61	88	88	85	0	93	89
20	W. M. Thomas	R	5	42	unopp.	68	89	89	78	0	92	92
21	B. Fiedler	R	3	46	86	72	92	84	71	15	86	83
22	C. J. Moorhead	R	11	61	unopp.	74	98	97	82	10	100	96

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
23	A. C. Beilenson	D	7	51	unopp.	60	16	93	31	85	11	11
24	H. A. Waxman	D	9	43	unopp.	65	7	97	24	95	11	9
25	E. R. Roybal	D	21	67	unopp.	85	7	97	17	95	0	5
26	H. L. Berman	D	1	42	83	60	11	94	26	95	8	8
27	M. Levine	D	1	40	unopp.	60	21	93	23	90	15	15
28	J. C. Dixon	D	5	49	unopp.	79	9	99	15	90	0	5
29	A. F. Hawkins	D	21	76	unopp.	80	13	96	14	85	10	5
30	M. G. Martinez	D	1	54	35	54	8	97	17	70	15	15
31	M. M. Dymally	D	3	57	77	72	12	94	17	85	12	11
32	G. M. Anderson	D	15	64	77	58	46	79	30	75	54	29
33	D. Drier	R	3	31	57	65	98	98	85	0	100	96
34	E. Torres	D	1	53	51	57	12	96	23	90	8	8
35	J. Lewis	R	5	49	unopp.	68	90	81	78	5	87	82
36	G. E. Brown, Jr.	D	19	63	74	54	12	94	17	90	12	8
37	A. McCandless	R	1	57	25	59	89	90	90	5	93	93
38	J. M. Patterson	D	9	49	unopp.	52	24	90	21	90	19	14
39	W. E. Dannemeyer	R	5	54	unopp.	72	90	96	84	5	96	97
40	R. E. Badham	R	7	54	unopp.	72	95	95	95	0	96	95
41	B. Lowery	R	3	36	unopp.	69	84	86	80	5	78	79
42	D. Lungren	R	5	37	81	69	93	97	85	5	100	97

43	R. Packard	R	1	52	17	37	98	94	84	0	96	96
44	J. Bates	D	1	42	72	65	19	88	22	85	15	15
45	D. L. Hunter	R	3	35	unopp.	69	93	90	76	15	96	90
Colorado												
1	P. Schroeder	D	11	43	unopp.	60	19	83	12	85	22	24
2	T. E. Wirth	D	9	44	unopp.	62	18	92	19	95	4	15
3	R. Kogovsek	D	5	42	unopp.	53	18	93	22	90	11	14
4	H. Brown	R	3	43	unopp.	70	75	82	67	25	79	79
5	K. Kramer	R	5	41	unopp.	60	93	89	78	0	93	89
6	D. Schaefer[c]	R	1	47	62	63	93	95	79	0	93	93
Connecticut												
1	B. Kennelly	D	1	53	59	68	13	97	17	90	8	8
2	S. Gejdenson	D	3	35	53	56	10	97	21	90	4	7
3	B. A. Morrison	D	1	39	55	50	8	96	17	90	0	0
4	S. B. McKinney	R	13	52	63	56	33	35	38	50	27	32
5	W. R. Ratchford	D	5	49	50	58	12	97	17	90	0	8
6	N. L. Johnson	R	1	48	52	70	54	47	53	45	41	41
Delaware												
AL	T. R. Carper	D	1	36	unopp.	52	35	77	34	80	25	25
Florida												
1	E. Hutto	D	5	57	61	74	98	47	62	10	85	58
2	D. Fuqua	D	21	50	77	84	84	68	61	30	50	55
3	C. E. Bennett	D	35	73	unopp.	84	72	61	41	50	54	62
4	B. Chappell, Jr.	D	15	56	54	67	96	58	63	20	81	77
5	B. McCollum	R	3	39	56	59	96	94	82	0	93	89

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Voic in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
6	K. H. MacKay	D	1	50	unopp.	61	60	69	47	60	44	44
7	S. Gibbons	D	21	63	unopp.	74	41	75	47	60	32	35
8	C. W. B. Young	R	13	53	unopp.	unopp.	88	81	76	5	89	88
9	M. Bilirakis	R	1	53	54	51	95	91	80	10	93	93
10	A. Ireland	D	7	53	unopp.	unopp.	93	33	76	10	88	69
11	B. Nelson	D	5	41	unopp.	71	88	57	58	40	67	58
12	T. Lewis	R	1	59	62	53	92	81	68	20	81	81
13	C. Mack III	R	1	43	58	65	93	96	79	15	89	89
14	D. Mica	D	5	39	81	73	54	77	51	60	42	43
15	E. C.Shaw, Jr.	R	3	44	unopp.	57	96	94	83	5	96	89
16	L. Smith	D	1	42	55	68	28	94	24	85	8	8
17	W. Lehman	D	11	70	88	unopp.	19	90	18	89	8	9
18	C. Pepper	D	21	83	unopp.	71	39	90	38	80	27	11
19	D. B. Fascell	D	29	66	unopp.	59	32	87	35	85	21	13
Georgia												
1	L. Thomas	D	1	40	28	64	84	64	49	40	50	50
2	C. F. Hatcher	D	3	44	52	unopp.	86	68	56	45	48	52
3	R. Ray	D	1	56	63	71	92	38	67	20	82	82
4	E. H. Levitas[d]	D	9	53	unopp.	65	75	60	43	40	64	56
5	W. Fowler, Jr.[d]	D	6	43	83	81	38	88	28	90	19	35

6	N. Gingrich	R	5	40	unopp.	55	92	89	75	10	85	88
7	L. P. McDonald[e]	D	9	48	66	61	100	50	40	—	100	98
8	J. R. Rowland	D	1	57	58	unopp.	88	62	45	40	56	56
9	E. Jenkins	D	7	51	78	77	87	55	56	30	69	64
10	D. Barnard, Jr.	D	7	61	unopp.	unopp.	87	44	66	10	77	70
Hawaii												
1	C. Heftel	D	7	59	unopp.	90	40	81	48	25	20	21
2	D. K. Akaka	D	7	59	unopp.	89	44	91	30	85	15	16
Idaho												
1	L. E. Craig	R	3	38	unopp.	54	97	96	82	0	100	93
2	G. Hansen	R	13	53	unopp.	52	99	97	83	0	100	96
Illinois												
1	C. Hayes[f]	D	1	65	—	—	10	93	8	n.a.	0	0
2	G. Savage	D	3	58	89	87	5	96	7	95	8	3
3	M. A. Russo	D	9	39	unopp.	74	27	85	17	75	15	28
4	G. M. O'Brien	R	11	66	53	55	80	62	75	20	71	69
5	W. O. Lipinski	D	1	46	61	75	57	73	42	50	41	41
6	H. J. Hyde	R	9	59	unopp.	68	88	85	90	5	89	76
7	C. Collins	D	10	52	unopp.	86	7	97	6	90	8	7
8	D. Rostenkowski	D	25	55	91	83	34	87	44	65	19	11
9	S. R. Yates	D	33	74	84	67	7	96	18	95	4	8
10	J. E. Porter	R	4	48	unopp.	59	70	71	77	25	71	69
11	F. Annunzio	D	19	68	unopp.	73	40	88	32	70	22	15
12	P. M. Crane	R	14	53	unopp.	66	94	96	83	5	96	98
13	J. N. Erlenborn	R	19	56	62	70	87	87	98	5	88	77
14	T. Corcoran	R	7	44	79	65	92	93	88	5	95	91

(Table continues)

TABLE A–2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
15	E. R. Madigan	R	11	47	85	66	81	87	79	15	88	71
16	L. Martin	R	3	44	unopp.	57	69	77	64	35	69	68
17	L. Evans	D	1	32	99	53	13	94	10	95	8	8
18	R. H. Michel	R	27	60	unopp.	52	84	78	92	5	85	86
19	D. B. Crane	R	5	47	unopp.	52	93	97	83	5	96	97
20	R. J. Durbin	D	1	39	75	50	31	82	15	85	15	15
21	M. Price	D	39	78	81	64	58	82	39	65	46	13
22	P. Simon	D	9	55	unopp.	66	23	92	28	70	9	9
Indiana												
1	K. Hall	D	1	45	72	56	7	98	13	90	4	4
2	P. R. Sharp	D	9	41	85	56	36	79	22	80	19	23
3	J. P. Hiler	R	3	30	unopp.	51	92	95	83	10	85	86
4	D. Coats	R	3	40	unopp.	64	84	88	78	10	86	81
5	E. Hillis	R	13	57	unopp.	61	82	77	80	20	73	69
6	D. Burton	R	1	45	28	65	94	93	83	10	93	93
7	J. T. Myers	R	17	56	unopp.	62	92	73	68	10	82	86
8	F. X. McCloskey	D	1	44	55	51	31	89	17	85	18	18
9	L. H. Hamilton	D	18	52	64	67	42	82	35	75	25	22
10	A. Jacobs, Jr.	D	17	51	60	67	34	66	23	75	15	28

Iowa												
1	J. Leach	R	7	41	unopp.	59	29	44	39	50	40	52
2	T. Tauke	R	5	33	unopp.	59	44	66	59	25	56	61
3	C. Evans	R	3	59	unopp.	55	51	63	62	25	54	58
4	N. Smith	D	25	63	unopp.	66	31	85	30	70	18	14
5	T. Harkin	D	9	44	unopp.	59	18	89	7	90	12	20
6	B. Bedell	D	9	62	unopp.	64	21	82	26	75	11	18
Kansas												
1	P. Roberts	R	3	47	86	68	87	88	73	10	89	86
2	J. Slattery	D	1	35	unopp.	57	60	60	39	55	37	37
3	L. Winn, Jr.	R	17	64	82	59	94	90	81	0	93	79
4	D. Glickman	D	7	39	unopp.	74	47	76	43	70	35	36
5	B. Whittaker	R	5	44	89	67	92	86	69	15	89	85
Kentucky												
1	C. Hubbard, Jr.	D	9	46	unopp.	unopp.	73	49	57	50	67	60
2	W. H. Natcher	D	30	74	60	74	53	83	32	65	29	33
3	R. L. Mazzoli	D	13	51	64	65	52	79	41	65	32	26
4	G. Snyder	R	19	55	90	54	83	79	71	15	86	85
5	H. Rogers	R	3	46	94	65	90	81	71	5	89	79
6	L. J. Hopkins	R	5	50	unopp.	57	88	86	66	20	79	80
7	C. D. Perkins	D	35	71	unopp.	79	39	88	21	80	21	16
Louisiana[g]												
1	R. L. Livingston	R	6	40	86	—	88	82	81	5	82	84
2	L. Boggs	D	10	67	77	—	54	85	40	70	33	25
3	W. J. Tauzin	D	3	40	unopp.	—	90	37	55	25	71	65
4	B. Roemer	D	3	40	unopp.	—	79	27	56	30	78	76

(Table continues)

TABLE A–2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
5	J. Huckaby	D	7	42	84	—	87	46	55	35	67	72
6	W. H. Moore	R	8	44	77	—	89	82	70	0	89	86
7	J. B. Breaux	D	11	39	79	—	90	45	57	20	65	60
8	G. W. Long	D	11	60	60	—	38	89	30	85	21	25
Maine												
1	J. R. McKernan, Jr.	R	1	35	77	50	48	49	50	40	46	46
2	O. J. Snowe	R	5	37	unopp.	67	50	47	50	35	48	59
Maryland												
1	R. Dyson	D	3	35	unopp.	69	76	64	40	50	54	51
2	C. D. Long	D	21	75	84	53	37	87	22	85	22	24
3	B. A. Mikulski	D	7	47	81	74	19	94	16	90	15	14
4	M. S. Holt	R	11	63	unopp.	61	97	90	90	5	86	86
5	S. H. Hoyer	D	3	44	92	80	30	93	33	80	26	17
6	B. B. Byron	D	5	51	74	74	89	46	59	25	71	62
7	P. J. Mitchell	D	11	61	85	88	5	96	11	95	7	5
8	M. D. Barnes	D	5	40	unopp.	79	17	94	24	90	15	10
Massachusetts												
1	S. O. Conte	R	25	62	unopp.	unopp.	33	32	42	55	19	32

2	E. P. Boland	D	31	72	unopp.	73	26	92	25	80	11	11
3	J. D. Early	D	9	51	unopp.	unopp.	19	88	7	85	12	18
4	B. Frank	D	3	43	unopp.	60	9	92	18	95	11	8
5	J. M. Shannon	D	5	31	unopp.	85	12	94	18	100	4	7
6	N. Mavroules	D	5	54	79	58	20	93	22	85	11	13
7	E. J. Markey	D	7	37	unopp.	78	8	94	21	90	11	12
8	T. P. O'Neill, Jr.[h]	D	31	71	78	75	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	J. Moakley	D	11	56	unopp.	64	12	95	23	80	11	9
10	G. E. Studds	D	11	46	unopp.	69	6	95	19	85	4	8
11	B. J. Donnelly	D	5	37	unopp.	unopp.	23	88	18	80	14	21
Michigan												
1	J. Conyers, Jr.	D	19	54	unopp.	97	5	92	8	100	5	11
2	C. D. Pursell	R	7	51	82	65	73	63	69	15	68	45
3	H. Wolpe	D	5	44	unopp.	56	12	96	16	95	7	13
4	M. Siljander	R	3	32	56	60	91	90	76	10	92	90
5	H. S. Sawyer	R	7	63	unopp.	53	80	67	73	15	65	74
6	B. Carr	D	9	40	unopp.	51	27	90	13	85	21	20
7	D. E. Kildee	D	7	54	unopp.	75	9	92	11	90	4	11
8	B. Traxler	D	9	52	unopp.	91	26	91	6	90	15	17
9	G. Vander Jagt	R	17	52	unopp.	65	86	79	75	5	72	73
10	D. J. Albosta	D	5	58	unopp.	60	49	84	18	90	15	22
11	R. W. Davis	R	5	51	unopp.	60	75	56	54	35	68	66
12	D. E. Bonoir	D	7	38	unopp.	66	14	94	22	80	7	11
13	G. W. Crockett, Jr.	D	3	74	unopp.	88	9	93	15	100	9	5
14	D. M. Hertel	D	3	35	unopp.	95	22	88	20	90	7	16
15	W. D. Ford	D	19	56	82	73	9	98	13	90	4	8
16	J. D. Dingell	D	28	57	unopp.	74	17	93	26	90	8	13

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings*					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (current)
17	S. Levin	D	1	51	44	66	19	94	28	95	11	11
18	W. S. Broomfield	R	27	61	88	73	83	83	81	5	70	68
Minnesota												
1	T. J. Penny	D	1	32	93	51	31	84	13	75	11	11
2	V. Weber	R	3	31	88	54	74	83	65	15	82	77
3	B. Frenzel	R	13	55	unopp.	72	64	77	72	20	67	60
4	B. F. Vento	D	7	43	unopp.	73	4	96	18	90	4	6
5	M. O. Sabo	D	5	45	unopp.	66	10	97	20	100	0	7
6	G. Sikorski	D	1	35	83	51	13	91	17	90	7	7
7	A. Stangeland	R	6	53	unopp.	50	78	79	71	5	81	83
8	J. L. Oberstar	D	9	49	87	77	9	94	13	90	7	6
Mississippi												
1	J. L. Whitten	D	42	73	84	71	67	76	31	60	28	65
2	W. Franklin	R	1	42	99	50	100	91	79	0	93	93
3	G. V. Montgomery	D	17	63	92	93	97	29	70	10	93	86
4	W. Dowdy	D	3	41	50	53	57	80	31	70	42	42
5	T. Lott	R	11	42	unopp.	72	98	92	77	0	93	87
Missouri												
1	W. Clay	D	15	52	61	66	2	98	10	90	0	5

2	R. A. Young	D	7	60	86	57	46	82	34	65	36	33
3	R. A. Gephardt	D	7	42	unopp.	78	27	94	27	85	23	32
4	I. Skelton	D	7	52	unopp.	55	77	60	47	50	62	51
5	A. Wheat	D	1	32	32	58	10	97	13	95	11	11
6	E. T. Coleman	R	7	40	91	55	86	72	66	15	75	82
7	G. Taylor	R	11	55	unopp.	51	94	85	73	0	88	91
8	B. Emerson	R	3	45	unopp.	53	91	87	72	5	89	86
9	H. L. Volkmer	D	7	52	unopp.	61	46	71	26	80	32	39
Montana												
1	P. Williams	D	5	46	unopp	60	20	90	20	90	12	15
2	R. Marlenee	R	7	48	unopp.	54	90	81	66	0	88	83
Nebraska												
1	D. K. Bereuter	R	5	44	unopp.	75	71	73	63	25	57	70
2	H. Daub	R	3	43	unopp.	57	88	90	77	10	82	81
3	V. Smith	R	9	72	unopp.	unopp.	80	77	72	10	68	81
Nevada												
1	H. Reid	D	1	44	78	58	35	87	30	70	36	36
2	B. Vucanovich	R	1	62	39	56	92	94	83	0	100	100
New Hampshire												
1	N. E. D'Amours	D	9	46	unopp.	55	41	77	30	80	21	30
2	J. Gregg	R	3	36	unopp.	71	78	89	80	10	89	85
New Jersey												
1	J. J. Florio	D	9	46	unopp.	73	27	90	14	85	15	16
2	W. J. Hughes	D	9	51	unopp.	68	38	74	34	70	26	33
3	J. J. Howard	D	19	56	unopp.	62	13	97	20	90	13	6

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
4	C. H. Smith	R	3	30	unopp.	53	61	44	50	40	39	44
5	M. Roukema	R	3	54	unopp.	65	49	51	64	40	30	49
6	B. J. Dwyer	D	3	62	unopp.	68	19	96	24	85	11	12
7	M. J. Rinaldo	R	11	52	unopp.	56	55	37	47	65	52	38
8	R. A. Roe	D	14	59	unopp.	71	29	91	25	80	19	20
9	R. G. Torricelli	D	1	32	unopp.	53	19	93	18	85	25	25
10	P. W. Rodino, Jr.	D	35	74	unopp.	83	7	98	20	85	4	6
11	J. G. Minish	D	21	67	unopp.	64	22	92	25	85	11	13
12	J. A. Courter	R	5	42	63	67	79	77	75	20	89	82
13	E. B. Forsythe	R	13	67	unopp.	59	56	73	68	30	52	54
14	F. J. G...ini	D	5	59	unopp.	97	16	96	19	90	4	15
New Mexico												
1	M. Lujan, Jr.	R	15	55	87	52	93	83	74	5	93	78
2	J. Skeen	R	3	56	unopp.	58	96	92	83	5	89	87
3	B. Richardson	D	1	36	36	64	29	91	18	95	19	19
New York												
1	W. Carney	R	5	41	unopp.	64	87	84	71	5	92	85
2	T. J. Downey	D	9	34	unopp.	64	11	96	27	85	7	10
3	R. J. Mrazek	D	1	38	65	52	27	89	24	85	18	18

4	N. F. Lent	R	13	52	unopp.	60	81	69	74	10	80	67
5	R. J. McGrath	R	3	41	unopp.	58	80	73	63	15	85	75
6	J. P. Addabbo	D	23	58	unopp.	96	11	98	10	95	8	10
7	G. Ackerman[i]	D	1	41	—	50	13	96	21	85	11	11
8	J. H. Scheuer	D	17	63	unopp.	74	10	95	23	85	7	8
9	G. A. Ferraro	D	5	48	unopp.	73	17	97	16	90	7	13
10	C. E. Schumer	D	3	33	77	79	15	95	24	85	11	8
11	E. Towns	D	1	49	unopp.	84	7	98	13	95	0	0
12	M. R. Owens	D	1	47	unopp.	91	7	98	13	85	4	4
13	S. J. Solarz	D	9	43	unopp.	81	18	94	30	90	17	9
14	G. V. Molinari	R	3	55	unopp.	56	74	70	73	5	79	66
15	S. W. Green	R	5	54	unopp.	53	36	35	50	50	37	30
16	C. B. Rangel	D	13	53	unopp.	97	11	96	22	100	8	6
17	T. Weiss	D	7	56	unopp.	85	11	94	16	100	4	9
18	R. Garcia	D	5	50	unopp.	99	10	99	19	80	8	7
19	M. Biaggi	D	15	66	unopp.	94	26	91	27	85	23	26
20	R. L. Ottinger	D	15	54	unopp.	56	9	96	20	95	7	11
21	H. Fish, Jr.	R	15	57	unopp.	75	58	49	59	20	54	50
22	B. A. Gilman	R	11	61	unopp.	53	62	44	57	45	68	46
23	S. S. Stratton	D	25	67	73	76	72	63	57	45	42	32
24	G. B. H. Solomon	R	5	53	unopp.	74	95	94	78	5	89	88
25	S. L. Boehlert	R	1	37	56	56	51	36	55	45	43	43
26	D. Martin	R	3	39	unopp.	72	89	80	76	0	85	83
27	G. Wortley	R	3	57	47	53	81	78	77	15	85	76
28	M. F. McHugh	D	9	45	unopp.	56	13	94	24	90	11	11
29	F. Horton	R	21	64	unopp.	66	48	34	41	40	35	39
30	B. B. Conable, Jr.	R	19	61	unopp.	68	75	81	88	20	86	72

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
31	J. F. Kemp	R	13	48	unopp.	75	89	82	79	10	89	86
32	J. J. LaFalce	D	9	44	unopp.	91	20	88	32	80	15	18
33	H. J. Nowak	D	9	48	unopp.	84	12	94	24	85	11	11
34	S. N. Lundine	D	7	44	unopp.	60	19	91	23	85	4	13
North Carolina												
1	W. B. Jones	D	17	70	83	81	68	79	40	60	36	63
2	I. T. Valentine, Jr.	D	1	57	54	54	92	56	44	40	57	57
3	C. Whitley	D	7	56	88	64	89	68	46	45	52	56
4	I. F. Andrews	D	11	58	unopp.	51	51	80	38	70	33	46
5	S. L. Neal	D	9	49	86	60	63	76	43	60	42	49
6	C. R. Britt	D	1	41	51	54	53	80	34	80	32	32
7	C. Rose	D	11	44	80	71	50	86	30	75	31	38
8	W. G. Hefner	D	9	53	80	57	77	76	43	45	50	49
9	J. G. Martin	R	11	48	59	57	83	84	79	10	85	88
10	J. T. Broyhill	R	21	56	unopp.	93	88	88	77	20	88	88
11	J. M. Clarke	D	1	66	87	50	55	81	43	65	37	37
North Dakota												
AL	B. L. Dorgan	D	3	41	unopp.	62	35	80	19	80	18	16

Ohio												
1	T. A. Luken	D	7	58	unopp.	65	29	87	31	80	14	32
2	W. D. Gradison, Jr.	R	9	55	unopp.	63	74	76	73	30	58	73
3	T. P. Hall	D	5	41	unopp.	75	28	82	22	85	19	23
4	M. Oxley	R	3	39	unopp.	65	84	90	88	10	82	85
5	D. L. Latta	R	25	63	unopp.	55	86	93	90	5	93	88
6	B. McEwen	R	3	33	unopp.	59	91	86	72	15	85	82
7	M. Dewine	R	1	36	69	56	90	91	85	5	89	89
8	T. N. Kindness	R	9	54	unopp.	66	88	84	85	5	68	87
9	M. Kaptur	D	1	37	78	58	17	89	12	90	7	7
10	C. E. Miller	R	17	66	37	63	75	82	70	15	78	85
11	D. E. Eckart	D	3	33	56	61	26	86	18	90	14	23
12	J. R. Kasich	R	1	31	83	50	87	90	77	10	86	86
13	D. J. Pease	D	7	52	77	61	18	91	20	90	11	15
14	J. F. Seiberling	D	13	65	unopp.	70	9	96	21	95	7	6
15	C. P. Wylie	R	17	63	unopp.	66	78	78	82	5	74	76
16	R. Regula	R	11	59	unopp.	66	80	69	67	25	71	66
17	L. Williams	R	5	41	unopp.	55	67	41	48	45	35	53
18	D. Applegate	D	7	55	unopp.	unopp.	49	72	28	70	32	43
19	E. F. Feighan	D	1	36	49	59	23	89	21	90	21	21
20	M. R. Oakar	D	7	43	unopp.	86	23	87	27	80	18	18
21	L. Stokes	D	15	58	86	86	6	97	12	80	4	5
Oklahoma												
1	J. R. Jones	D	11	44	unopp.	54	66	67	46	55	44	56
2	M. Synar	D	5	33	unopp.	73	45	88	33	75	25	26
3	W. Watkins	D	7	45	85	82	79	68	35	70	48	59
4	D. McCurdy	D	3	33	unopp.	65	86	60	45	50	56	58

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
5	M. Edwards	R	7	46	68	67	92	85	72	10	96	91
6	G. English	D	9	43	unopp.	75	85	54	47	45	54	72
Oregon												
1	L. AuCoin	D	9	41	82	54	20	81	21	70	12	23
2	B. Smith	R	1	52	63	56	92	92	76	0	92	92
3	R. Wyden	D	3	34	unopp.	78	16	92	13	90	11	11
4	J. Weaver	D	9	56	79	59	19	84	8	90	11	17
5	D. Smith	R	3	45	unopp.	51	93	97	82	5	96	93
Pennsylvania												
1	T. M. Foglietta	D	3	55	52	73	11	96	26	90	12	17
2	W. H. Gray III	D	5	42	88	76	2	99	12	85	0	3
3	R. A. Borski	D	1	35	58	50	17	94	22	85	14	14
4	J. P. Kolter	D	1	57	60	46	33	78	16	80	20	20
5	R. T. Schulze	R	9	54	83	67	91	87	76	10	88	85
6	G. Yatron	D	15	56	unopp.	78	43	81	30	60	37	35
7	R. W. Edgar	D	9	40	82	55	4	93	19	85	0	8
8	P. H. Kostmayer	D	7	37	unopp.	50	9	95	17	90	4	17
9	B. Shuster	R	11	51	unopp.	65	92	94	77	0	92	89
10	J. M. McDade	R	21	52	89	68	66	51	66	30	63	41

11	F. Harrison	D	1	43	25	54	26	91	21	80	19	19
12	J. P. Murtha	D	9	51	52	61	60	77	57	55	46	32
13	L. Coughlin	R	15	54	78	64	54	58	59	40	50	53
14	W. J. Coyne	D	3	47	77	75	12	96	28	90	14	15
15	D. Ritter	R	5	43	unopp.	58	84	84	78	10	89	82
16	R. S. Walker	R	7	41	87	71	82	94	80	20	93	93
17	G. W. Gekas	R	1	53	60	58	78	83	80	20	86	86
18	D. Walgren	D	7	43	unopp.	54	19	85	12	95	15	18
19	W. F. Goodling	R	9	56	unopp.	71	62	73	57	35	46	73
20	J. M. Gaydos	D	15	57	67	76	38	82	41	60	41	30
21	T. J. Ridge	R	1	38	48	50	68	53	53	35	52	52
22	A. J. Murphy	D	7	56	unopp.	79	40	81	23	80	21	33
23	W. F. Clinger, Jr.	R	5	54	unopp.	65	66	63	61	15	54	63
Rhode Island												
1	F. J. St Germain	D	23	55	unopp.	61	20	91	22	65	8	10
2	C. Schneider	R	3	36	unopp.	56	25	29	24	75	16	18
South Carolina												
1	T. F. Hartnett	R	3	42	unopp.	54	97	96	87	5	100	97
2	F. Spence	R	13	55	unopp.	59	98	90	74	0	89	90
3	B. Derrick	D	9	47	unopp.	90	46	82	38	75	36	43
4	C. A. Campbell, Jr.	R	5	43	unopp.	63	9%	90	85	0	81	88
5	J. Spratt	D	1	41	55	68	60	79	39	65	37	37
6	R. M. Tallon, Jr.	D	1	37	71	53	56	80	34	75	41	41
South Dakota												
AL	T. A. Daschle	D	5	36	unopp.	52	45	86	17	75	21	25

(Table continues)

TABLE A–2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Tennessee												
1	J. H. Quillen	R	21	67	unopp.	74	89	77	83	0	78	84
2	J. J. Duncan	R	19	64	unopp.	unopp.	89	72	64	5	76	81
3	M. L. Bouquard	D	9	54	82	62	92	45	57	25	76	54
4	J. Cooper	D	1	29	69	66	62	74	35	45	41	41
5	W. H. Boner	D	5	38	88	80	66	77	46	45	50	37
6	A. Gore, Jr.	D	7	35	unopp.	unopp.	41	86	32	70	44	24
7	D. Sundquist	R	1	47	unopp.	50	93	86	71	0	86	86
8	E. Jones	D	14	71	68	75	72	73	42	55	52	50
9	H. E. Ford	D	9	38	84	72	12	96	24	75	9	11
Texas												
1	S. B. Hall, Jr.	D	7	59	86	97	89	39	51	25	63	79
2	C. Wilson	D	11	50	74	94	67	65	55	45	57	45
3	S. Bartlett	R	1	36	57	77	87	91	88	0	93	93
4	R. M. Hall	D	3	60	unopp.	74	88	40	49	35	70	65
5	J. Bryant	D	1	36	67	65	38	89	24	80	26	26
6	P. Gramm	D	5	41	95	55	100	99	74	0	96	86
7	B. Archer	R	13	55	unopp.	85	96	95	78	5	96	96
8	J. Fields	R	3	31	unopp.	57	95	94	83	5	93	92
9	J. Brooks	D	31	61	53	68	47	85	34	75	26	22

10	J. J. Pickle	D	20	70	unopp.	90	77	73	47	60	48	44
11	M. Leath	D	5	52	82	96	99	33	66	10	89	82
12	J. Wright	D	29	61	unopp.	69	59	84	45	70	33	24
13	J. Hightower	D	9	57	unopp.	64	92	49	62	30	68	61
14	E. Patman	D	3	56	unopp.	61	82	44	52	50	68	66
15	E. de la Garza	D	19	56	70	96	70	80	45	50	43	47
16	R. Coleman	D	1	42	55	54	49	84	39	75	36	36
17	C. W. Stenholm	D	5	45	unopp.	97	93	21	65	15	86	82
18	M. Leland	D	5	39	84	83	5	97	11	85	4	5
19	K. Hance	D	5	41	unopp.	82	92	52	56	40	65	66
20	H. B. Gonzalez	D	22	67	unopp.	91	33	90	12	90	14	17
21	T. Loeffler	R	5	37	unopp.	75	99	96	82	0	96	93
22	R. Paul	R	6	48	51	99	58	89	69	15	61	80
23	A. Kazen, Jr.	D	17	64	unopp.	55	92	60	50	35	62	44
24	M. Frost	D	5	41	unopp.	59	51	86	37	75	32	31
25	M. Andrews	D	1	39	43	60	79	63	46	60	56	56
26	T. Vandergriff	D	1	47	unopp.	50	87	49	57	35	64	64
27	S. P. Ortiz	D	1	46	26	64	69	78	46	65	44	44
Utah												
1	J. V. Hansen	R	3	51	unopp.	63	98	97	86	0	100	95
2	D. Marriott	R	7	44	unopp.	54	89	81	88	0	88	89
3	H. C. Nielson	R	1	59	54	77	93	95	86	0	96	96
Vermont												
AL	J. M. Jeffords	R	9	49	78	69	29	34	45	65	29	35
Virginia												
1	H. H. Bateman	R	1	55	44	54	87	83	89	0	89	89

(Table continues)

TABLE A-2 (continued)

State, District	Representative	Party	Years of Service	Age	1982 % Vote in		Voting Ratings[a]					
					Primary	General	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
2	G. W. Whitehurst	R	15	58	conv.	unopp.	88	87	89	5	85	82
3	T. J. Bliley, Jr.	R	3	51	conv.	59	97	90	88	5	96	91
4	N. Sisisky	D	1	56	61	54	78	66	44	65	42	42
5	D. Daniel	D	15	69	conv.	unopp.	97	19	78	0	89	91
6	J. R. Olin	D	1	63	conv.	50	66	66	43	65	43	43
7	J. K. Robinson	R	13	67	conv.	60	98	92	88	0	96	93
8	S. Parris	R	5	54	49	50	88	80	72	15	78	75
9	F. C. Boucher	D	1	37	conv.	50	31	93	23	80	22	22
10	F. R. Wolf	R	3	44	unopp.	53	87	81	77	5	89	78
Washington												
1	J. Pritchard	R	11	58	83	68	61	60	64	30	52	43
2	A. Swift	D	5	48	88	60	11	96	20	90	4	12
3	D. Bonker	D	9	46	unopp.	60	20	92	24	75	13	14
4	S. Morrison	R	3	50	unopp.	70	81	72	71	20	73	75
5	T. S. Foley	D	19	54	93	64	31	91	33	85	27	16
6	N. D. Dicks	D	7	43	90	63	37	88	39	75	33	21
7	M. Lowry	D	5	44	unopp.	71	8	93	17	85	8	12
8	R. Chandler	R	1	41	41	57	78	71	67	25	72	72
West Virginia												
1	A. B. Mollohan	D	1	40	41	53	54	79	34	65	46	46

2	H. O. Staggers	D	1	32	unopp.	64	30	88	16	85	22	22
3	B. Wise	D	1	35	45	58	32	87	14	90	22	22
4	N. J. Rahall II	D	7	34	unopp.	81	32	83	16	85	16	21
Wisconsin												
1	L. Aspin	D	13	45	unopp.	61	30	90	32	80	30	15
2	R. W. Kastenmeier	D	25	59	unopp.	61	9	94	12	95	11	10
3	S. Gunderson	R	3	32	unopp.	57	65	70	61	20	64	68
4	C. J. Zablocki[j]	D	35	71	61	95	36	88	43	70	36	19
5	J. Moody	D	1	48	19	64	17	90	23	95	12	12
6	T. E. Petri	R	4	43	unopp.	65	72	77	61	20	67	66
7	D. R. Obey	D	14	45	unopp.	68	12	94	23	100	11	15
8	T. Roth	R	5	45	unopp.	57	82	86	73	5	89	89
9	F. J. Sensenbrenner, Jr.	R	5	40	unopp.	unopp.	75	86	70	10	89	89
Wyoming												
AL	R. B. Cheney	R	5	42	31	71	94	95	92	5	96	94

NOTE: AL = at large; D = Democratic; R = Republican; unopp. = unopposed; conv. = nominated by convention; n.a. = not available; dash = not applicable.

a. CC = conservative coalition; PU = party unity; PS = presidential support; ADA = Americans for Democratic Action; ACA = Americans for Constitutional Action. In compiling this table, the conservative coalition, party unity, and presidential support scores were calculated to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows; support = support/(support + opposition).

b. Phillip Burton died April 10, 1983; Sala Burton was elected in special election in June 1983.

c. Schaefer elected in special election March 29, 1982, after death of Jack Swigert.

d. Elected in special elections November 1982.

e. McDonald died September 1983; George W. Darden (D) sworn in November 10, 1983.

f. Charles Hayes (D) replaced Harold Washington (elected mayor of Chicago; vacated seat April 29, 1983); sworn in September 12, 1983.

(Notes continue)

g. If any candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the Louisiana primary, the election is won outright. If not, the top two candidates face each other in a runoff.

h. The Speaker of the House does not usually vote.

i. Elected in March 1983 special election after death of Benjamin Rosenthal (D).

j. Zablocki died December 1983; succeeded by Gerald Kleczka (D), sworn in April 10, 1984.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; *Congressional Directory*, various years; Barone et al., *The Almanac of American Politics*, 1978, 1980, 1982, and 1984; and Alan Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America 1982* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1981).

TABLE A-3
SENATE, 1982

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election			Voting Ratings					
				Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Alabama												
Howell Heflin	D	4	61	1978	65	94	82	58	61	25	62	53
Jeremiah Denton, Jr.	R	2	58	1980	64	50	97	89	84	5	88	84
Alaska												
Ted Stevens	R	14	59	1978	unopp.	76	96	91	80	10	70	68
Frank Murkowski	R	2	49	1980	59	54	99	95	79	15	67	46
Arizona												
Barry Goldwater	R	26	73	1980	unopp.	50	82	85	66	10	76	95
Dennis DeConcini	D	6	45	1976	53	54	79	59	64	45	50	47
Arkansas												
Dale Bumpers	D	8	57	1980	unopp.	59	21	89	32	85	28	25
David Pryor[a]	D	4	48	1978	55	77	62	76	48	70	39	44
California												
Alan Cranston	D	14	68	1980	80	57	9	89	28	95	6	5
S. I. Hayakawa	R	6	76	1976	38	50	81	86	81	15	76	80

(Table continues)

TABLE A-3 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Colorado												
Gary Hart	D	8	45	1980	unopp.	50	15	88	40	95	15	15
William Armstrong	R	4	45	1978	73	59	96	92	78	10	100	96
Connecticut												
Lowell Weicker, Jr.	R	12	51	1976	conv.	58	30	36	36	75	17	36
Christopher Dodd	D	2	38	1980	conv.	56	6	87	45	100	11	5
Delaware												
William Roth, Jr.	R	12	61	1976	conv.	56	84	78	79	50	55	73
Joseph Biden, Jr.	D	10	40	1978	conv.	58	29	82	36	80	29	18
Florida												
Lawton Chiles	D	12	52	1976	unopp.	63	85	61	66	50	57	43
Paula Hawkins	R	2	54	1980	48	52	90	76	76	10	47	55
Georgia												
Sam Nunn	D	10	44	1978	80	83	84	58	71	45	65	63
Mack Mattingly	R	2	51	1980	60	51	98	93	86	0	86	86
Hawaii												
Daniel Inouye	D	20	58	1980	88	78	21	84	30	70	32	8
Spark Matsunaga	D	6	66	1976	52	54	15	87	30	85	21	11

Idaho												
James McClure	R	10	58	1978	unopp.	68	93	90	74	5	59	88
Steven Symms	R	2	44	1980	unopp.	50	98	94	80	5	85	83
Illinois												
Charles Percy	R	16	63	1978	84	53	62	69	82	45	56	30
Alan Dixon	D	2	54	1980	67	56	42	79	47	80	28	38
Indiana												
Richard Lugar	R	6	50	1976	65	59	84	86	85	15	75	78
Dan Quayle	R	2	34	1980	77	54	86	88	85	25	63	82
Iowa												
Roger Jepsen	R	4	54	1978	57	51	88	84	80	20	76	82
Charles Grassley	R	2	48	1980	66	54	88	83	84	30	76	83
Kansas												
Robert Dole	R	14	59	1980	82	64	89	92	87	15	71	73
Nancy Kassebaum	R	4	50	1978	31	54	83	76	81	50	62	65
Kentucky												
Walter Huddleston	D	10	56	1978	76	61	75	70	49	50	47	25
Wendell Ford	D	8	58	1980	87	65	67	76	35	70	29	32
Louisiana[b]												
Russell Long	D	34	64	1980	58	—	96	52	66	15	58	41
Bennett Johnston	D	10	50	1978	59	—	89	49	62	35	53	50
Maine												
William Cohen	R	4	42	1978	unopp.	57	47	63	68	55	57	62
George Mitchell	D	3	49	[g]	appointed		16	89	36	95	33	24

(Table continues)

TABLE A–3 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Maryland												
Charles Mathias, Jr.	R	14	60	1980	55	66	37	44	57	65	14	14
Paul Sarbanes	D	6	49	1976	55	57	3	97	28	85	19	9
Massachusetts												
Edward Kennedy	D	20	50	1976	75	69	2	94	31	75	21	5
Paul Tsongas	D	4	41	1978	36	55	8	88	39	95	6	11
Michigan												
Donald Riegle	D	6	44	1976	44	53	4	97	27	80	32	11
Carl Levin	D	4	49	1978	39	52	5	94	35	95	29	15
Minnesota												
David Durenberger	R	4	48	1978	67	61	45	52	68	70	32	49
Rudy Boschwitz	R	4	52	1978	87	57	56	72	78	30	71	71
Mississippi												
John Stennis	D	35	81	1976	85	unopp.	91	45	72	25	50	70
Thad Cochran	R	4	45	1978	69	45	97	91	79	10	79	75
Missouri												
Thomas Eagleton	D	14	53	1980	86	52	12	93	30	85	10	12
John Danforth	R	6	46	1976	93	57	81	77	79	40	42	50

Montana												
John Melcher	D	6	58	1976	89	64	57	73	53	70	35	27
Max Baucus	D	4	41	1978	65	56	32	82	45	85	29	23
Nebraska												
Edward Zorinsky	D	6	54	1976	49	52	86	49	65	20	71	69
J. James Exon	D	4	61	1978	unopp.	68	73	66	58	40	58	47
Nevada												
Howard Cannon	D	24	70	1976	86	63	65	78	48	50	57	37
Paul Laxalt	R	8	60	1980	90	59	97	95	85	5	80	89
New Hampshire												
Gordon Humphrey	R	4	42	1978	50	51	86	84	73	15	95	92
Warren Rudman	R	2	52	1980	20	52	69	80	82	35	67	63
New Jersey												
Bill Bradley	D	4	39	1978	59	56	14	87	37	100	24	11
Nicholas Brady[c]	R	—	52	—	—	—	83	86	82	22	80	80
New Mexico												
Pete Domenici	R	10	50	1978	unopp.	53	97	91	85	15	62	71
Harrison Schmitt	R	6	47	1976	72	57	97	84	81	5	68	79
New York												
Daniel Moynihan	D	6	55	1976	36	54	14	89	29	95	25	15
Alfonse D'Amato	R	2	45	1980	56	45	82	78	73	15	60	54
North Carolina												
Jesse Helms	R	10	61	1978	unopp.	55	99	87	75	0	95	98
John P. East	R	2	51	1980	unopp.	50	99	89	78	0	90	92

(Table continues)

TABLE A–3 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
North Dakota												
Quentin Burdick	D	22	74	1976	unopp.	62	48	83	50	70	35	19
Mark Andrews	R	2	56	1980	unopp.	70	83	71	76	25	57	55
Ohio												
John Glenn	D	8	61	1980	86	69	34	80	44	70	35	19
Howard Metzenbaum	D	6	65	1976	54	50	4	95	33	100	16	13
Oklahoma												
David Boren[d]	D	4	41	1978	60	66	90	55	61	45	67	66
Don Nickles	R	2	34	1980	35	54	95	85	81	10	95	90
Oregon												
Mark Hatfield	R	16	60	1978	66	62	50	68	61	60	22	33
Robert Packwood	R	14	50	1980	62	52	60	68	76	55	48	43
Pennsylvania												
John Heinz	R	6	44	1976	38	52	47	52	59	70	39	35
Arlen Specter	R	2	52	1980	36	51	40	51	56	70	40	39
Rhode Island												
Claiborne Pell	D	22	64	1978	87	75	18	80	61	95	11	8
John Chafee	R	6	60	1976	unopp.	58	30	48	55	80	14	26

South Carolina												
Strom Thurmond	R	27	80	1978	unopp.	56	96	95	91	5	86	92
Ernest Hollings	D	16	60	1980	81	70	60	78	45	55	50	45
South Dakota												
Larry Pressler	R	4	40	1978	74	67	77	69	74	10	74	63
James Abdnor	R	2	59	1980	73	58	98	90	82	10	67	67
Tennessee												
Howard Baker	R	16	57	1978	83	56	94	92	92	5	78	68
James Sasser	D	6	46	1976	44	53	63	74	43	55	48	33
Texas												
John Tower	R	21	57	1978	unopp.	50	94	89	84	10	74	90
Lloyd Bentsen	D	12	61	1976	64	57	90	57	65	40	65	46
Utah												
Jake Garn	R	8	50	1980	unopp.	74	94	93	84	5	81	93
Orrin Hatch	R	6	48	1976	65	54	94	87	86	5	95	94
Vermont												
Robert Stafford	R	11	69	1976	69	50	52	54	70	65	32	25
Patrick Leahy	D	8	42	1980	unopp.	50	12	91	38	90	19	13
Virginia												
Harry Byrd[e]	I	17	68	1976	no primary	57	90	31	83	25	85	87
John Warner[f]	R	4	55	1978	party nom.	50	98	87	76	5	86	82
Washington												
Henry Jackson	D	30	70	1976	87	72	38	81	38	75	29	13
Slade Gorton	D	2	54	1980	57	54	76	78	76	45	43	55

(Table continues)

TABLE A-3 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
West Virginia												
Jennings Randolph	D	24	80	1978	80	50	56	81	37	70	29	20
Robert Byrd	D	24	65	1976	unopp.	unopp.	53	76	40	60	48	*
Wisconsin												
William Proxmire	D	25	67	1976	unopp.	72	88	57	50	75	43	32
Robert Kasten, Jr.	R	2	40	1980	37	50	54	84	78	5	86	78
Wyoming												
Malcolm Wallop	R	6	49	1976	77	55	94	89	80	10	74	84
Alan Simpson	R	4	51	1978	55	62	95	86	85	15	85	85

NOTE: D = Democratic; R = Republican; I = Independent; unopp. = unopposed; conv. = nominated by convention; party nom. = nominated by party; CC = conservative coalition; PU = party unity; PS = presidential support; ADA = Americans for Democratic Action; ACA = Americans for Constitutional Action. In compiling this table, the conservative coalition, party unity, and presidential support scores were calculated to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: support = support/(support + opposition).

a. In the initial primary, Pryor led with 34 percent of the vote, winning the runoff primary with 55 percent.

b. If any candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the Louisiana primary, the election is won outright. If not, the top two candidates face each other in a runoff.

c. Nicholas Brady was appointed on April 20, 1982, to replace Harrison Williams.

d. In the initial primary, Boren led with 46 percent, winning the runoff primary with 60 percent.

e. Harry Byrd was elected as an Independent.

f. After convention nominee Richard Obenshain died, Warner was selected by the

g. Appointed in 1980 to fill the unexpired term of Edmund S. Muskie. The seat wa

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, v
et al., *Almanac of American Politics*, 1978, 1980, and 1982; and Ehrenhalt, *Politics in A*

lected by the Republican party leadership to replace him.
. The seat was up in 1982.

rly Almanac, various years; *Congressional Directory*, various years; Barone
t, *Politics in America 1982*.

TABLE A–4

SENATE, 1983

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election			Voting Ratings					
				Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Alabama												
Howell Heflin	D	5	62	1978	65	94	83	58	45	40	75	57
Jeremiah Denton	R	3	59	1980	64	50	93	90	82	5	80	82
Alaska												
Ted Stevens	R	15	60	1978	unopp.	76	83	82	95	15	68	48
Frank Murkowski	R	3	50	1980	59	54	100	90	83	0	75	70
Arizona												
Barry Goldwater	R	27	74	1980	unopp.	50	90	88	70	10	77	94
Dennis DeConcini	D	7	46	1982	84	59	62	64	41	45	56	48
Arkansas												
Dale Bumpers	D	9	58	1980	unopp.	59	48	89	36	75	21	25
David Pryor	D	5	49	1978	55[a]	77	63	85	28	70	32	42
California												
Alan Cranston	D	15	69	1980	80	57	12	89	41	75	9	5
Pete Wilson	R	1	50	1982	38	52	92	90	81	15	84	84

Colorado												
Gary Hart	D	9	46	1980	unopp.	50	15	82	40	80	7	15
William Armstrong	R	5	46	1978	73	59	95	87	64	10	100	96
Connecticut												
Lowell Weicker	R	13	52	1982	unopp.	58	37	49	64	65	28	35
Christopher Dodd	D	3	39	1980	conv.	56	18	80	44	80	6	5
Delaware												
William Roth	R	13	62	1982	unopp.	56	79	82	78	30	74	73
Joseph Biden	D	11	41	1978	conv.	58	25	87	39	85	26	19
Florida												
Lawton Chiles	D	13	53	1982	unopp.	62	65	69	49	60	32	42
Paula Hawkins	R	3	55	1980	48	52	90	77	69	25	78	62
Georgia												
Sam Nunn	D	11	45	1978	80	83	88	51	66	40	65	63
Mack Mattingly	R	3	52	1980	60	51	100	86	74	20	95	89
Hawaii												
Daniel Inouye	D	21	59	1980	88	78	12	89	44	75	14	8
Spark Matsunaga	D	7	67	1982	unopp.	80	28	85	47	95	11	11
Idaho												
James McClure	R	11	59	1978	unopp.	68	100	90	69	0	89	88
Steven Symms	R	3	45	1980	unopp.	50	91	88	64	0	100	88
Illinois												
Charles Percy	R	17	64	1978	84	53	58	63	84	40	47	31
Alan Dixon	D	3	55	1980	67	56	56	73	57	60	39	39

(Table continues)

TABLE A–4 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Indiana												
Richard Lugar	R	7	51	1982	unopp.	54	95	92	95	15	75	81
Dan Quayle	R	3	35	1980	77	54	95	89	93	15	79	78
Iowa												
Roger Jepsen	R	5	55	1978	57	51	89	83	79	15	80	81
Charles Grassley	R	3	49	1980	66	54	77	81	74	15	75	80
Kansas												
Robert Dole	R	15	60	1980	82	64	93	92	79	5	74	73
Nancy Kassebaum	R	5	51	1978	31	54	62	74	79	35	65	65
Kentucky												
Walter Huddleston	D	11	57	1978	76	61	61	77	40	60	30	26
Wendell Ford	D	9	59	1980	87	65	55	83	42	70	50	34
Louisiana[b]												
Russell Long	D	35	65	1980	58	—	98	54	53	25	33	41
Bennett Johnston	D	11	51	1978	59	—	94	57	56	20	61	51
Maine												
William Cohen	R	5	43	1978	unopp.	57	76	63	69	45	67	63
George Mitchell	D	4	50	1982	unopp.	61	30	85	40	80	15	22

Maryland												
Charles Mathias, Jr.	R	15	61	1980	55	66	37	49	70	50	21	15
Paul Sarbanes	D	7	50	1982	81	63	12	91	42	95	5	9
Massachusetts												
Edward Kennedy	D	21	51	1982	unopp.	61	12	80	40	85	5	5
Paul Tsongas	D	5	42	1978	36	55	9	84	40	95	0	9
Michigan												
Donald Riegle	D	7	45	1982	unopp.	58	14	96	35	85	10	11
Carl Levin	D	5	50	1978	39	52	15	88	34	95	10	14
Minnesota												
David Durenberger	R	5	49	1982	93	53	61	68	80	40	44	48
Rudy Boschwitz	R	5	53	1978	87	57	69	66	84	40	63	70
Mississippi												
John Stennis	D	36	82	1982	75	64	78	57	63	30	37	68
Thad Cochran	R	5	46	1978	69	45	83	71	76	20	72	75
Missouri												
Thomas Eagleton	D	15	54	1980	86	52	31	73	46	80	0	11
John Danforth	R	7	47	1982	74	51	67	84	81	40	55	50
Montana												
John Melcher	D	7	59	1982	68	54	39	84	34	80	30	27
Max Baucus	D	5	42	1978	65	56	45	79	39	15	35	25
Nebraska												
Edward Zorinsky	D	7	55	1982	unopp.	67	81	46	57	15	85	71
J. James Exon	D	5	62	1978	unopp.	68	74	57	54	40	65	50

(Table continues)

TABLE A–4 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Nevada												
Paul Laxalt	R	9	61	1980	90	59	92	96	78	5	83	88
Chic Hecht	R	1	55	1982	55	39	91	94	91	0	85	85
New Hampshire												
Gordon Humphrey	R	5	43	1978	50	51	88	74	58	15	95	93
Warren Rudman	R	3	53	1980	20	52	80	83	85	25	75	67
New Jersey												
Bill Bradley	D	5	40	1978	59	56	23	82	42	85	20	13
Frank Lautenberg	D	1	59	1982	26	51	15	78	42	85	11	11
New Mexico												
Pete Domenici	R	11	51	1978	unopp.	53	89	84	80	15	78	71
Jeff Bingaman	D	1	40	1982	54	54	26	84	46	90	10	10
New York												
Daniel Moynihan	D	7	56	1982	85	65	17	78	47	80	0	13
Alfonse D'Amato	R	3	46	1980	56	45	72	69	71	20	70	59
North Carolina												
Jesse Helms	R	11	62	1978	unopp.	55	98	79	58	0	100	98
John East	R	3	52	1980	unopp.	50	98	81	61	0	100	95

SELECTED AEI PUBLICATIONS

Public Opinion, published bimonthly (one year, $26; two years, $48; single copy, $5.00)

War Powers and the Constitution, Dick Cheney, Lee H. Hamilton, Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Brent Scowcroft, John Charles Daly, mod. (1984, 29 pp., $3.75)

Money and Politics in the United States: Financing Elections in the 1980s, Michael J. Malbin, ed. (1984, 324 pp., $12.95)

Both Ends of the Avenue: The Presidency, the Executive Branch, and Congress in the 1980s, Anthony King, ed. (1983, 273 pp., paper $8.95, cloth $16.95)

Congress off the Record: The Candid Analyses of Seven Members, John F. Bibby, ed. (1983, 53 pp., $4.95)

Making Economic Policy in Congress, Allen Schick (1983, 282 pp., cloth $19.95, paper $10.95)

The American Elections of 1982, Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein, eds. (1983, 203 pp., cloth $16.95, paper $8.95)

After the People Vote: Steps in Choosing the President, Walter Berns, ed. (1983, 39 pp., $3.95)

• *Mail orders for publications to:* AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, 1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • *For postage and handling, add 10 percent of total; minimum charge $2, maximum $10 (no charge on prepaid orders)* • *For information on orders, or to expedite service, call toll free* 800-424-2873 *(in Washington, D.C., 202-862-5869)* • *Prices subject to change without notice.* • *Payable in U.S. currency or through U.S. banks only*

AEI ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

The American Enterprise Institute invites your participation in the competition of ideas through its AEI Associates Program. This program has two objectives: (1) to extend public familiarity with contemporary issues; and (2) to increase research on these issues and disseminate the results to policy makers, the academic community, journalists, and others who help shape public policies. The areas studied by AEI include Economic Policy, Education Policy, Energy Policy, Fiscal Policy, Government Regulation, Health Policy, International Programs, Legal Policy, National Defense Studies, Political and Social Processes, and Religion, Philosophy, and Public Policy. For the $49 annual fee, Associates receive

- a subscription to *Memorandum*, the newsletter on all AEI activities
- the AEI publications catalog and all supplements
- a 30 percent discount on all AEI books
- a 40 percent discount for certain seminars on key issues
- subscriptions to any two of the following publications: *Public Opinion*, a bimonthly magazine exploring trends and implications of public opinion on social and public policy questions; *Regulation*, a bimonthly journal examining all aspects of government regulation of society; and *AEI Economist*, a monthly newsletter analyzing current economic issues and evaluating future trends (or for all three publications, send an additional $12).

Call 202/862-6446 or write: AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Suite 301, Washington, D.C. 20036

Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984–1985 Edition

NORMAN J. ORNSTEIN, THOMAS E. MANN,
MICHAEL J. MALBIN, ALLEN SCHICK, JOHN F. BIBBY
Foreword by Richard F. Fenno, Jr.

The third volume in this biennial series offers comprehensive information on congressional activity—membership, elections, campaign finance, committees, staff and operating expenses, workload, budgeting, and voting alignments.

THE AUTHORS:

Norman J. Ornstein, an AEI resident scholar, is series editor for public television's "Congress: We the People."

Thomas E. Mann is executive director of the American Political Science Association and adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Michael J. Malbin is an AEI resident scholar and contributing editor of the *National Journal.*

Allen Schick is professor in the School of Public Affairs at the University of Maryland and adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

John F. Bibby is professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

COMMENTS ON EARLIER EDITIONS:

"Vital Statistics on Congress, 1982 *is for Congress watchers what books on batting records and earned run averages are for baseball fans."*
Martin Tolchin, NEW YORK TIMES

"For anyone who has ever had a need to locate some statistic on Congress—teachers, journalists, students—at last the book has arrived. . . . Every library ought to have a copy of this resource. Bravo Bibby, Mann and Ornstein!" CHOICE

". . . about the best collection of data possible." CAPITOL HILL

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

North Dakota												
Quentin Burdick	D	23	75	1982	unopp.	63	38	86	46	75	20	19
Mark Andrews	R	3	57	1980	unopp.	70	55	52	65	40	35	48
Ohio												
John Glenn	D	9	62	1980	86	69	28	83	52	65	14	18
Howard Metzenbaum	D	7	66	1982	83	57	11	81	38	100	16	13
Oklahoma												
David Boren	D	5	42	1978	60	66	74	63	42	55	53	64
Don Nickles	R	3	35	1980	35	54	95	84	66	10	95	92
Oregon												
Mark Hatfield	R	17	61	1978	66	62	50	63	69	60	18	32
Robert Packwood	R	15	51	1980	62	52	55	62	73	30	42	43
Pennsylvania												
John Heinz	R	7	45	1982	unopp.	59	54	60	79	35	50	37
Arlen Specter	R	3	53	1980	36	51	45	46	59	80	35	38
Rhode Island												
Claiborne Pell	D	23	65	1978	87	75	15	84	46	90	6	7
John Chafee	R	7	61	1982	unopp.	51	47	67	82	60	35	27
South Carolina												
Strom Thurmond	R	28	81	1978	unopp.	56	93	94	88	5	85	92
Ernest Hollings	D	17	61	1980	81	70	53	86	19	70	33	45
South Dakota												
Larry Pressler	R	5	41	1978	74	67	83	67	66	20	79	66
James Abdnor	R	3	60	1980	73	58	93	88	81	5	85	73

(Table continues)

TABLE A–4 (continued)

	Party	Years of Service	Age	Previous Senate Election: Year	Primary (%)	General (%)	Voting Ratings: CC	PU	PS	ADA	ACA	ACA (career)
Tennessee												
Howard Baker	R	17	58	1978	83	56	90	85	90	20	75	69
James Sasser	D	7	47	1982	89	62	35	89	40	75	26	32
Texas												
John Tower	R	22	58	1978	unopp.	50	84	87	87	15	72	89
Lloyd Bentsen	D	13	62	1982	78	54	65	67	53	40	42	46
Utah												
Jake Garn	R	9	51	1980	unopp.	74	100	94	72	5	85	92
Orrin Hatch	R	7	49	1982	unopp.	58	93	91	72	0	90	93
Vermont												
Robert Stafford	R	12	70	1982	46	51	54	55	76	65	26	25
Patrick Leahy	D	9	43	1980	unopp.	50	18	90	42	85	20	14
Virginia												
John Warner	R	5	56	1978	party nom.[c]	50	89	86	84	20	85	82
Paul Trible	R	1	37	1982	conv.	51	88	86	85	15	85	85

Washington													
Henry Jackson	D	31	71	1982	95	69	—	—	—	—	—	—
Slade Gorton	R	3	55	1980	57	54	70	77	85	64	65	58
West Virginia												
Jennings Randolph	D	25	81	1978	80	50	57	72	53	50	42	21
Robert Byrd	D	25	66	1982	unopp.	69	37	81	49	65	21	34
Wisconsin												
William Proxmire	D	26	68	1982	86	64	50	57	51	55	40	32
Robert Kasten, Jr.	R	3	41	1980	37	50	93	82	68	10	89	82
Wyoming												
Malcolm Wallop	R	7	50	1982	unopp.	57	90	90	77	5	84	84
Alan Simpson	R	5	52	1978	55	62	81	86	79	25	79	84

NOTE: D = Democratic; R = Republican; I = independent; unopp. = unopposed; conv. = nominated by convention; CC = conservative coalition; PU = party unity; PS = presidential support; ADA = Americans for Democratic Action; ACA = Americans for Constitutional Action. In compiling this table, the conservative coalition, party unity, and presidential support scores were calculated to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: support = support/(support + opposition).

a. In the initial primary, Pryor led with 34 percent of the vote, winning the runoff primary with 55 percent.

b. If any candidate wins 50 percent or more of the vote in the Louisiana primary, the election is won outright. If not, the top two candidates face each other in a runoff.

c. After convention nominee Richard Obenshain died, Warner was selected by the Republican party leadership to replace him.

SOURCES: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, various years; *Congressional Directory*, various years; Barone et al., *Almanac of American Politics*, 1978, 1980, 1982, and 1984; and Ehrenhalt, *Politics in America 1982*.